2.51
71
I

THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

Todd

THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

BY THE REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A. F.A.S.
RECTOR OF ALLHALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,
AND WITH
A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

47115
15/12/95

LONDON:

Printed for J. Johnson; R. Baldwin; Otridge and Son; Nichols and Son, F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; J. Walker; W. Lowndes; Scatcherd and Letterman; J. Nunn; Wilkie and Robinson; Clarke and Sons; R. Lea; E. Jefferey; J. Carpenter; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell and Davies; Lackington, Allen, and Co.; Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, John Richardson; James Richardson; J. Mawman; J. Harris; and Mathews and Leigh:

By Law and Gilbert, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell.

1809.

PR
3551
T6
1809
v.4

THE

NINTH, TENTH, ELEVENTH, AND TWELFTH BOOKS

OF

PARADISE LOST.

CONTENTS

OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

	Page
Book IX. - - - - -	1
Book X. - - - - -	112
Book XI. - - - - -	213
Book XII. - - - - -	296
Plans of Paradiſe Loſt as a Tragedy - - -	383
Lauder's Interpolations - - - - -	389

THE

NINTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, having compaſſed the Earth, with meditated guile returns, as a miſt, by night into Paradiſe; enters into the Serpent ſleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve propoſes to divide in ſeveral places, each labouring apart: Adam conſents not, alleging the danger, leſt that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, ſhould attempt her found alone: Eve, loth to be thought not circumſpect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather deſirous to make trial of her ſtrength; Adam at laſt yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his ſubtle approach, firſt gazing, then ſpeaking; with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve, wondering to hear the Serpent ſpeak, aſks how he attained to human ſpeech, and ſuch underſtanding, not till now; the Serpent anſwers, that by taſting of a certain tree in the garden he attained both to ſpeech and reaſon, till then void of both: Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the tree of knowledge forbidden: The Serpent, now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments, induces her at length to eat; ſhe, pleaſed with the taſte, deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam or not; at laſt brings him of the fruit; relates what perſuaded her to eat thereof: Adam, at firſt amazed, but perceiving her loſt, reſolves, through vehemence of love, to periſh with her: and, extenuating the treſpaſs, eats alſo of the fruit: The effects thereof in them both; they ſeek to cover their nakedneſs; then fall to variance and accuſation of one another.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

NO more of talk where God or Angel gueſt
With Man, as with his friend, familiar us'd,

Ver. 1. *No more of talk* &c.] Theſe prologues, or prefaces, of Milton to ſome of his books, ſpeaking of his own perſon, lamenting his blindneſs, and preferring his ſubject to thoſe of Homer and Virgil and the greateſt poets before him, are condemned by ſome criticks: and it muſt be allowed that we find no ſuch digreſſion in the *Iliad* or *Æneid;* it is a liberty that can be taken only by ſuch a genius as Milton, and I queſtion whether it would have ſucceeded in any hands but his. As Voltaire ſays upon the occaſion, I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable ſelf-love, when he lays aſide his ſubject to deſcant upon his own perſon: But that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay, I am pleaſed with it. He gratifies the curioſity he has raiſed in me about his perſon; when I admire the author, I deſire to know ſomething of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allowed to ſpeak of himſelf. But this however is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferiour order, and is only to be juſtified by ſucceſs. See Voltaire's *Eſſay on Epick Poetry*, page 111.

But, as Mr. Thyer adds, however ſome criticks may condemn a poet's ſometimes digreſſing from his ſubject to ſpeak of himſelf, it is very certain that Milton was of a very different opinion, long before he thought of writing this poem. For, in his diſcourſe of the *Reaſon of Church-Government* &c. apologizing for ſaying ſo

To ſit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repaſt; permitting him the while

much of himſelf as he there does, he adds, "*For although a poet, ſoaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and ſinging robes about him, might, without apology, ſpeak more of himſelf than I mean to do;* yet for me, ſitting here below in the cool element of proſe, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unuſual things of myſelf, I ſhall petition to the gentler ſort, it may not be envy to me," vol. i. p. 59, edit. 1738. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *where God or Angel gueſt*] Dr. Bentley ſays, that *God* did not *partake rural repaſt* with Adam, and therefore he thinks that the author gave it *where ſocial Angel gueſt* &c. But *ſocial* is uſeleſs here, becauſe *familiar* follows in the next verſe. The ſenſe ſeems to be this; Where God, or rather the Angel ſent by him and acting as his proxy, uſed to ſit familiarly with Man as with his friend &c. Hence Raphael is called Adam's *Godlike gueſt*, B. v. 351. PEARCE.

Milton, who knew and ſtudied the Scripture thoroughly, and continually profits himſelf of its vaſt ſublimity, as well as of the more noble treaſures it contains, and to which his poem owes its greateſt luſtre, has done it here very remarkably. The epiſode, which has employed almoſt a third part of the work, and is a diſcourſe betwixt the Angel Raphael and Adam, is plainly copied from the xviiith chapter of *Geneſis*, which (by the way) has a ſublimity and air of antiquity to which Homer himſelf is flat and modern: Here *God or Angel gueſt* holds diſcourſe with Abraham *as friend with friend, ſits indulgent, partakes rural repaſt, permitting him the while diſcourſe* in his turn. No more muſt now be ſung of *ſuch* a heavenly converſation. God himſelf, indeed, is not properly a ſpeaker in it, though Adam in his part of it relates his having been honoured with the Divine Preſence, and a *celeſtial colloquy*, B. viii. 455, as ſeveral others, B. xi. 318, &c. All hitherto is evident beyond contradiction. *But why God or Angel gueſt?* Read that chapter, and it will be ſeen that this remarkable expreſſion is taken from the ambiguity there. *The Lord and the young Men* (always underſtood to be Angels) are uſed as words

Venial diſcourſe unblam'd. I now muſt change
Thoſe notes to tragick; foul diſtruſt, and breach

of the ſame ſignification, denoting that the Divine Preſence was ſo effectually with his meſſengers, that Himſelf was alſo there; *Such privilege hath Omnipreſence; He went, yet ſtaid*, as in B. vii. 589. The ſame Milton intimates in the paſſage before us; and it is a maſter ſtroke of ſublimity. RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardſon, in ſaying *The Lord and the young Men (always underſtood to be Angels) are uſed as words of the ſame ſignification*, does not ſeem to be appriſed, that it was an ancient opinion, and believed too by many of the more modern ſcholars, that the Lord in this paſſage was God the Son, and the two others only Angels. THYER.

Beſides it may be queſtioned, whether Milton reaſoned in this manner; and it ſeems to me as if a difficulty was made where no difficulty is. The poet ſays, that he muſt now treat no more of familiar diſcourſe with either God or Angel. For Adam had held diſcourſe with God, as we read in the preceding book; and the whole foregoing epiſode is a converſation with the Angel; and, as this takes up ſo large a part of the poem, this is particularly deſcribed and inſiſted upon here. The Lord God, and the Angel Michael, both indeed afterwards diſcourſe with Adam in the following books; but thoſe diſcourſes are not familiar converſation as with a friend; they are of a different ſtrain, the one coming to judge, and the other to expel him from Paradiſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 2. ——— *as with his friend, familiar* &c.] Mr. Bowle here cites from Drayton's *Muſes Eliz.* 1630, p. 122, the deſcription of Moſes:

" Him that of mortals onely had the grace,
" To *talke with God* face oppoſite to face,
" Euen *as a man with his familiar friend.*"

See alſo *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 56. But Milton was here inſtructed, as Drayton had been, by the divine hiſtorian himſelf, *Exod.* xxxiii. 11. " And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes face to face, *as a man ſpeaketh to his friend.*" TODD.

Ver. 5. ——— *I now muſt change*
Thoſe notes to tragick;] As the author is now chang-

Diſloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
And diſobedience: on the part of Heaven
Now alienated, diſtance and diſtaſte,
Anger and juſt rebuke, and judgement given,
That brought into this world a world of woe,
Sin and her ſhadow Death, and Miſery

ing his ſubject, he profeſſes likewiſe to change his ſtyle agreeably to it. The reader therefore muſt not expect ſuch lofty images and deſcriptions, as before. What follows, is more of the *tragick* ſtrain, than of the *epick:* Which may ſerve as an anſwer to thoſe criticks, who cenſure the latter books of the Paradiſe Loſt as falling below the former. NEWTON.

Ver. 11. *That brought into this world a world of woe,*] The pun, or what ſhall I call it, in this line, may be avoided, as a great man obſerved to me, by diſtinguiſhing thus:

" That brought into this world (a world of woe)
" Sin and her ſhadow Death, &c."

But I fancy the other will be found more agreeable to Milton's ſtyle and manner. We have a ſimilar inſtance in B. xi. 627.

" The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep."

But in theſe inſtances Milton was corrupted by the bad taſte of the times, and by reading the Italian poets, who abound with ſuch verbal quaintneſſes. NEWTON.

The great man, who propoſed the parentheſis, was Atterbury; and Dr. Warton conſiders it as a happy vindication of Milton from the degrading quaintneſs ſo often applied to the old reading. Dr. Lowth was alſo of the ſame opinion. I would moreover obſerve, that Atterbury's reading, which places *a world of woe* in oppoſition to *this world*, derives ſupport from Milton's having already employed the phraſe in this manner, B. viii. 332.

——— " expell'd from hence into *a world*
Of woe and ſorrow." TODD.

Ver. 12. *Sin and her* ſhadow *Death,*] So, in the ſpeech of Sin to Death, B. x. 249. " Thou, my *ſhade* inſeparable, &c." Where ſee the notes. TODD.

Death's harbinger: Sad taſk! yet argument
Not leſs but more heroick than the wrath
Of ſtern Achilles on his foe purſued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia diſeſpous'd;
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that ſo long
Perplex'd the Greek, and Cytherea's ſon;
If anſwerable ſtyle I can obtain
Of my celeſtial patroneſs, who deigns
Her nightly viſitation unimplor'd,

Ver. 12. ——————— *and* Miſery

Death's harbinger:] Dr. Bentley reads *Malady;* becauſe, as there is *Miſery* after death, ſo there is *Miſery* which does not uſher in death, but invokes it in vain. But, by *Miſery* here, Milton means ſickneſs, diſeaſe, and all ſorts of mortal pains. So, when Michael is going to name the ſeveral diſeaſes in the lazar-houſe repreſented to Adam in a viſion, B. xi. 475, he ſays,

——————— " that thou may'ſt know
" What *miſery* the inabſtinence of Eve
" Shall bring on men." PEARCE.

Ver. 20. *If anſwerable ſtyle I can obtain*] His theme was more ſublime than the wrath of Achilles, celebrated by Homer in the *Iliad;* of Turnus, by Virgil in the *Æneid;* or of Neptune, by Homer in the *Odyſſey:* It therefore demanded the invocation of *anſwerable ſtyle* to deſcribe it. And, as Mr. Richardſon obſerves, though ſeveral other particulars are ſpecified as parts of his preſent ſubject, v. 6, &c.; that of *the anger of God*, v. 10, was the conſequence of thoſe, and is his only ſubject. It is this which he places in oppoſition *to the anger of men and gods:* in which, as Dr. Newton remarks, he has the advantage of Homer and Virgil; the anger of the true God being an " argument not leſs but *more* heroick." TODD.

Ver. 21. —— *my celeſtial patroneſs,*] See the note on Milton's *Eleg.* v. 6. " Ingeniumque mihi &c." T. WARTON.

And dictates to me ſlumbering; or inſpires
Eaſy my unpremeditated verſe:
Since firſt this ſubject for heroick ſong
Pleas'd me long chooſing, and beginning late;
Not ſedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument

Ver. 26. ——— *long chooſing, and beginning late;*] Milton intended pretty early to write an epick poem, and propoſed the ſtory of king Arthur for the ſubject: But that was laid aſide, probably for the reaſons here intimated. The *Paradiſe Loſt* he deſigned at firſt as a tragedy: It was not till long after, that he began to form it into an epick poem. And indeed, for ſeveral years, he was ſo hotly engaged in the controverſies of the times, that he was not at leiſure to think of a work of this nature; and did not begin to faſhion it in its preſent form, till after the Salmaſian controverſy which ended in 1655, and probably did not ſet about the work in earneſt, till *after the Reſtoration*, ſo that he was "long chooſing, and beginning late." NEWTON.

Aubrey relates, in his manuſcript account of Milton, preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, that the poet began his Paradiſe Loſt about two years *before the Reſtoration*, and completed it about three years after that event. TODD.

Ver. 28. —— *hitherto the only argument*
Heroick deem'd;] By the Moderns as well as by the Ancients; wars being the principal ſubject of all the heroick poems from Homer down to this time. But Milton's ſubject was different, and, whatever others may call it, we ſee he reckons it himſelf *An heroick poem*, though he names it only *A poem* in his title-page. It is indeed, as Warburton moſt excellently obſerves in his *Divine Legation of Moſes*, B. ii. ſ. 4, the *third* ſpecies of epick poetry. For juſt as Virgil rivalled Homer, ſo Milton emulated both. He found Homer poſſeſſed of the province of *morality*, Virgil of *politicks*, and nothing left for him but that of *religion*. This he ſeiſed, as aſpiring to ſhare with them in the government of the poetick world; and, by means of the ſuperiour dignity of his ſubject, got to the head of that triumvirate which took ſo

Heroick deem'd; chief maſtery to diſſect
With long and tedious havock fabled knights
In battles feign'd; the better fortitude
Of patience and heroick martyrdom
Unſung; or to deſcribe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, imblazon'd ſhields,

many ages in forming. Theſe are the three ſpecies of the epick poem; for its largeſt province is human action, which can be conſidered but in a moral, a political, or religious view; and theſe the three great creators of them; for each of theſe poems was ſtruck out at an heat, and came to perfection from its firſt eſſay. Here then the grand ſcene is cloſed, and all further improvements of the epick at an end. NEWTON.

A cruel ſentence indeed, and a very ſevere Statute of *Limitation!* enough, if it had any foundation, to deſtroy every future attempt of any exalted genius that might ariſe. But, in truth, the aſſertion is totally groundleſs and chimerical. Each of the three poets might change the ſtations here aſſigned to them. Homer might aſſume to himſelf the province of *politicks;* Virgil of *morality;* and Milton, of *both;* who is alſo a ſtrong proof that human action is not the largeſt ſphere of epick poetry.

Jos. WARTON.

Ver. 33. ——— *or to deſcribe races and games,*] As the ancient poets have done; Homer in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, Virgil in the fifth book of the *Æneid*, and Statius in the ſixth book of his *Thebaid:* Or *tilts* and *tournaments*, which are often the ſubject of the modern poets, as Arioſto, Spenſer, and the like. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. ——————— *imblazon'd ſhields,*] The Italian poets in general are much too circumſtantial about theſe trifling particulars. But I cannot help thinking, that Milton had principally in view Boiardo, who, in his catalogue of Agramante's troops, gives a moſt faſtidious detail of imblazonry, having for above a hundred verſes together nothing elſe ſcarcely but names of warriours, and deſcriptions of the devices and impreſſes which they bore in their arms, *Orland. Innam.* B. ii. C. 29. THYER.

Impreſſes quaint, capariſons and ſteeds, 35
Baſes and tinſel trappings, gorgeous knights

Ver. 35. *Impreſſes quaint*,] Emblems and devices on the ſhield, alluding to the name, the nature, or the fortune, of the wearer. Mr. Dunſter is of opinion, that Milton adopted his expreſſion from Quarles's *Argalus and Parthenia*, B. i. Where, in the deſcription of a tournament, are noticed "The *quaint impreſas*, and deviceful ſhows." Sir Henry Wotton obſerves, that, at a tournament of which he was a ſpectator at court, "ſome of the *impreſes* were ſo *dark*, that their meaning is not yet underſtood; unleſs perchance that were their meaning, not to be underſtood." Theſe *quaint* and enigmatical emblems, often dark to all others, were known however to the ladies whom the knights ſerved. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *capariſons and* ſteeds,

Baſes *and tinſel* trappings,] The horſes of knights were covered with rich houſings that touched their feet, with *baſes*, from the French *bas*, à bas, *upon the ground:* It is not eaſy to comprehend, ſays a learned and entertaining writer, how it was poſſible to fight in ſo embarraſſing an equipage; but the ancient ſeals prove it was the cuſtom to do ſo. See Mem. of Ancient Chivalry, p. 234. And compare Boccace's *Amorous Fiametta*, tranſl. by B. Young, 4to. 1587. "The ayre reſounding with the ſhoutes of the people that ſtood by, and the iangling of the ſiluer and golden belles, that euery *horſe* was almoſt *trapped* withall, the noyſe alſo of trumpets and of other martiall inſtruments, the flapping and ſmyting of the *caparisons* againſt the *horſes* ſides, and of their *baſes* in the ayre, and the flyttering of their mantles alſo againſt the winde, did prick on theyr fiery *ſteedes* to a more hote, brauer, ſwifter, and more couragious courſe." TODD.

Ver. 36. ——————— *gorgeous knights*

At jouſt *and* tournament;] The knights were moſt ſuperbly armed and equipped on theſe occaſions. Sir H. Wotton ſeems to have thought it very indecorous, that, among the *tilters* at the tournament above-mentioned, "ſome *caparisons*, ſeen before, adventured to *appear again* upon the ſtage with a *little diſguiſement*." The *tournament* is of French origin. The old romances are full of the deſcriptions of *jouſt* and *tournament*, per-

At jouſt and tournament; then marſhall'd feaſt
Serv'd up in hall with ſewers and ſeneſhals;
The ſkill of artifice or office mean,
Not that which juſtly gives heroick name
To perſon, or to poem. Me, of theſe
Nor ſkill'd nor ſtudious, higher argument
Remains; ſufficient of itſelf to raiſe
That name, unleſs an age too late, or cold

formed at princely marriages, and other high ſolemnities. The *jouſt* uſually meant the combat of lances between two perſons only; the *tournament* included all martial games. The combatants were called *tilters* from their *running at each other* with their lances on horſeback. TODD.

Ver. 37. ———— *then* marſhall'd *feaſt*
Serv'd up in hall with ſewers, *and* ſeneſhals;] Here is another alluſion to the magnificence of elder days; the *Marſhal of the hall*, the *Sewer*, and the *Seneſhal*, having been officers of diſtinction in the houſes of princes and great men. From Minſhew's *Guide into Tongues* it appears, that the *Marſhal* placed the gueſts according to their rank, and ſaw that they were properly ſerved; the *Sewer* marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, and was originally called *Aſſeour* from the French *aſſeoir*, to ſet down, or place; and the *Seneſhal* was the houſhold-ſteward, a name of frequent occurrence in old Law-books, and ſo in French "Le grand *Seneſchal* de France," ſynonymous with our "Lord high *Steward* of the king's houſhold."
TODD.

Ver. 41. ———— *Me*, of *theſe*
Nor ſkill'd] The uſual conſtruction in Engliſh is, "*ſkilled in* a thing;" but the Latin conſtruction is, "*peritus alicujus rei.*" LORD MONBODDO.

The conſtruction, here adopted by Milton, occurs in Harington's *Arioſto*, B. iv. ſt. 42.

"As holy men *of* humane manners *ſkilled.*" TODD.

Ver 44. ———— *unleſs an age too late, or cold*
Climate, &c.] He has a thought of the ſame kind

Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depreſs'd; and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers, who brings it nightly to my ear.
The ſun was ſunk, and after him the ſtar
Of Heſperus, whoſe office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, ſhort arbiter
'Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
Night's hemiſphere had veil'd the horizon round:
When Satan, who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd
In meditated fraud and malice, bent
On Man's deſtruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himſelf, fearleſs return'd.
By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
From compaſſing the earth; cautious of day,

in his *Reaſon of Church Government*, B. ii. ſpeaking of epick poems: "If to the inſtinct of nature, and the imboldening of art, aught may be truſted; and that there *be nothing adverſe in our climate, or the fate of this age*, it haply would be no raſhneſs, from an equal diligence and inclination, to preſent the like offer in our own ancient ſtories." *Or years, damp* &c. For he was near ſixty when this poem was publiſhed. And it is ſurpriſing that, at that time of life, and after ſuch troubleſome days as he had paſſed through, he ſhould have ſo much poetical fire remaining. NEWTON.

Ver. 50. ——————— *ſhort* arbiter

'Twixt day and night,] This expreſſion was probably borrowed from the beginning of Sidney's *Arcadia*, where, ſpeaking of the ſun about the time of the equinox, he calls him "an indifferent *arbiter* between the night and the day." NEWTON.

Ver. 58. ——————— *return'd*

From compaſſing *the earth;*] See *Job* i. 7. "And the Lord ſaid unto Satan, Whence comeſt thou? Then Satan anſwered the Lord, and ſaid, *From going to and fro in the earth,*

Since Uriel, regent of the ſun, deſcried
His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
That kept their watch; thence full of anguiſh driven,
The ſpace of ſeven continued nights he rode
With darkneſs; thrice the equinoctial line

and from walking up and down in it." And in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 896, the paſſage is thus verſified:

" I come, ſaid he, from walking in and out,
" And *compaſſing* the earthlie ball about." TODD.

Ver. 63. *The ſpace of ſeven continued nights he rode*
With darkneſs; &c.] It was about noon that Satan came to the earth, and, having been diſcovered by Uriel, he was driven out of Paradiſe the ſame night, as we read in book the fourth. From that time he was a whole week in continual darkneſs for fear of another diſcovery. *Thrice the equinoctial line he circled;* he travelled on with the night three times round the equator; he was three days moving round from eaſt to weſt as the ſun does, but always on the oppoſite ſide of the globe in darkneſs. *Four times croſs'd the car of night from pole to pole;* did not move directly on with the night as before, but croſſed over from the northern to the ſouthern, and from the ſouthern to the northern pole. *Traverſing each colure.* As the equinoctial line or equator is a great circle encompaſſing the earth from eaſt to weſt and from weſt to eaſt again: ſo the colures are two great circles, interſecting each other at right angles in the poles of the world, and encompaſſing the earth from north to ſouth, and from ſouth to north again: and therefore, as Satan was moving from pole to pole, at the ſame time the car of night was moving from eaſt to weſt, if he would keep ſtill in the ſhade of night as he deſired, he could not move in a ſtraight line, but muſt move obliquely, and thereby croſs the two colures. We have expreſſed ourſelves as plainly as we can for the ſake of thoſe readers, who are not acquainted with theſe aſtronomical terms; and the fact in ſhort is, that Satan was three days compaſſing the earth from eaſt to weſt, and four days from north to ſouth, but ſtill kept

He circled; four times croſs'd the car of night
From pole to pole, travérſing each colure;
On the eighth return'd; and, on the coaſt averſe
From entrance or Cherubick watch, by ſtealth
Found unſuſpected way. There was a place,
Now not, though ſin, not time, firſt wrought the change,
Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradiſe,
Into a gulf ſhot under ground, till part
Roſe up a fountain by the tree of life:
In with the river ſunk, and with it roſe
Satan, involv'd in riſing miſt; then ſought
Where to lie hid; ſea he had ſearch'd, and land,
From Eden over Pontus and the pool

always in the ſhade of night; and, after a whole week's peregrination in this manner, on the eighth night returned by ſtealth into Paradiſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 65. ——————————— *the* car *of night*] As Petrarch expreſſes it:

" Notte 'l *carro* ſtellato in giro mena."

See alſo Mr. Warton's note *In Quint. Nov.* v. 70. TODD.

Ver. 75. ——— *involv'd in riſing miſt*,] Homer, *Il.* i. 359,

——— ἀνέδυ πωλῆς ἁλὸς, ἦϋτ' ὀμίχλη. NEWTON.

And *Hymn. in Merc.* v. 141.

——————— διὰ κληίθρον ἔδυνεν
Αὔρῃ ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἦϋτ' ὀμίχλη. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 77. *From Eden over Pontus*, &c.] As we had before an aſtronomical, ſo here we have a geographical, account of Satan's peregrinations. *He ſearch'd* both *ſea and land*, northward *from Eden over Pontus*, Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now the Black Sea, above Conſtantinople, *and the pool Mœotis*, Palus Mœotis above the Black Sea, *up beyond the river Ob*, Ob or Oby,

Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
Downward as far antarctick; and in length,
West from Orontes to the ocean barr'd
At Darien; thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus: Thus the orb he roam'd
With narrow search; and with inspection deep
Consider'd every creature, which of all
Most opportune might serve his wiles; and found
The Serpent subtlest beast of all the field.

a great river of Muscovy near the northern pole. *Downward as far antarctick*, as far southward; the northern hemisphere being elevated on our globes, the north is called *up* and the south *downwards; antarctick* south the contrary to *arctic* north from ἄρκτος the Bear, the most conspicuous constellation near the north pole; but no particular place is mentioned near the south pole, there being all sea or land unknown. *And in length*, as north is up and south is down, so in length is east or west; *west from Orontes*, a river of Syria, westward of Eden, running into the Mediterranean, *to the ocean barr'd at Darien*, the isthmus of Darien in the West-Indies, a neck of land that joins North and South America together, and hinders the ocean as it were with a bar from flowing between them; and the metaphor of *the ocean barr'd* is an allusion to Job xxxviii. 10, "*and set bars* to the sea." *Thence to the land where flows Ganges and Indus*, thence to the East-Indies: *Thus the orb he roam'd.* NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *The Serpent* subtlest *beast* &c.] So Moses, *Gen.* iii. 1. "Now the serpent was *more subtle* than any beast of the field:" The *subtlety* of the serpent is commended likewise by Aristotle and other Naturalists: And therefore he was the fitter instrument for Satan, because (as Milton says agreeably with the doctrine of the best Divines) any sleights in him might be thought to proceed from his native wit and *subtlety*; but, observed in other creatures, might the easier beget a suspicion of a diabolical power acting within them, beyond their natural sense. NEWTON.

Him after long debate, irreſolute
Of thoughts revolv'd, his final ſentence choſe
Fit veſſel, fitteſt imp of fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark ſuggeſtions hide
From ſharpeſt ſight: for, in the wily ſnake
Whatever ſleights, none would ſuſpicious mark,
As from his wit and native ſubtlety
Proceeding; which, in other beaſts obſerv'd,
Doubt might beget of diabolick power
Active within, beyond the ſenſe of brute.
Thus he reſolv'd, but firſt from inward grief
His burſting paſſion into plaints thus pour'd.
O Earth, how like to Heaven, if not preferr'd
More juſtly, ſeat worthier of Gods, as built

Ver. 89. ——— *fitteſt* imp *of fraud,*] Fitteſt *ſtock* to graft his deviliſh fraud upon, ſays Hume. The word indeed is derived from the Welſh *imp*, a ſhoot. And thus Chaucer, *Monke's Prol.* v. 68. "Of feble trees there comith wretched *impes.*" Dr. Johnſon, in his Dictionary, conſiders the word in Milton as meaning a *ſubaltern devil;* probably in alluſion to the vulgar expreſſion, "The devil and his *imps;*" which Mr. Dunſter traces to Wood's *Conflict of Conſcience*, 1581, in which Satan thus concludes his ſpeech:

"I will therefore myne *impes* ſend out
from hell their ſhapes to ſhow." TODD.

Ver. 99. ——— *If not preferr'd*
More juſtly, &c.] I reckon this panegyrick upon the Earth among the leſs perfect parts of the poem. The beginning is extravagant, and what follows is not conſiſtent with what the author had ſaid before, in his deſcription of Satan's paſſage among the ſtars and planets, which are ſaid then to appear to him as other worlds inhabited. See B. iii. 566. The imagination, that all the heavenly bodies were created for the ſake of the

With ſecond thoughts, reforming what was old!
For what God, after better, worſe would build?
Terreſtrial Heaven, danc'd round by other Heavens
That ſhine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
Light above light, for thee alone, as ſeems,
In thee concentring all their precious beams
Of ſacred influence! As God in Heaven
Is center, yet extends to all; ſo thou,
Centring, receiv'ſt from all thoſe orbs: in thee,
Not in themſelves, all their known virtue appears

Earth, was natural to human ignorance; and human vanity might find its account in it: but neither of theſe could influence Satan. HEYLIN.

As it is common with people to undervalue what they have forfeited and loſt by their folly and wickedneſs, and to overvalue any good that they hope to attain; ſo Satan is here made to queſtion whether Earth be not preferable to Heaven: but this is ſpoken of Earth in its primitive and original beauty before the Fall. As Mr. Thyer obſerves, Spenſer has the very ſame thought upon a like occaſion; for, deſcribing the gardens ſurrounding the temple of Venus, he ſays, *Faery Qu.* v. x. 23.

" That if the happy ſouls which do poſſeſs
" The Elyſian fields, and live in laſting bliſs,
" Should happen this with living eye to ſee,
" They ſoon would loath their leſſer happineſs."

But Satan concludes that Earth muſt be beſt, becauſe it was created laſt;

" For what God, after better, worſe would build?"

A ſophiſtical argument worthy of Satan, and for the ſame reaſon Man would be better than Angels. But Satan was willing to inſinuate imperfection in God, as if he had mended his hand by Creation, and as if all the works of God were not perfect in their kinds, and in their degrees, and for the ends for which they were intended. NEWTON.

Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
Of creatures animate with gradual life
Of growth, ſenſe, reaſon, all ſumm'd up in Man.
With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
If I could joy in aught, ſweet interchange
Of hill, and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
Now land, now ſea and ſhores with foreſt crown'd,
Rocks, dens, and caves! But I in none of theſe
Find place or refuge; and the more I ſee
Pleaſures about me, ſo much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful ſiege
Of contraries: all good to me becomes

Ver. 113. *Of growth, ſenſe, reaſon, all ſumm'd up in Man.*] The three kinds of life, riſing as it were by ſteps, the vegetable, animal, and rational; of all which Man partakes, and he only; he grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate; he lives as all other animal creatures, but is over and above endued with reaſon. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 119. *Find* place or *refuge;*] Dr. Bentley believes that the author gave it *Find place of refuge:* Another learned gentleman propoſes to read *Find* peace *or refuge:* but it may be underſtood thus, *but I in none of theſe find place* to dwell in *or refuge* from Divine Vengeance. And this ſenſe ſeems to be confirmed by what follows.

"But neither here ſeek I, no nor in Heaven
"To dwell,————
"Nor hope to be myſelf leſs miſerable, &c."

that is (as Dr. Greenwood adds) I find no place *to dwell here,* for I do not *ſeek* or deſire it; and I expect no *refuge,* becauſe I cannot *hope to be leſs miſerable.* NEWTON.

By *place* Milton means allotted ſtation. What Satan ſays, is, "I find none of theſe delightful places, or parts of the earth, permitted to be a reſidence for me; neither can I poſſibly eſcape from that hell to which I am doomed, or take refuge in this delightful earth the allotted ſeat of man." DUNSTER.

Bane, and in Heaven much worſe would be my
ſtate.
But neither here ſeek I, no nor in Heaven
To dwell, unleſs by maſtering Heaven's Supreme;
Nor hope to be myſelf leſs miſerable
By what I ſeek, but others to make ſuch
As I, though thereby worſe to me redound:
For only in deſtroying I find eaſe
To my relentleſs thoughts; and, him deſtroyed,
Or won to what may work his utter loſs,
For whom all this was made, all this will ſoon
Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe;
In woe then; that deſtruction wide may range:
To me ſhall be the glory ſole among
The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd

Ver. 127. ——— *but others to make ſuch*
As I,] It is true, as Dr. Bentley remarks, that the ſyntax requires "to make ſuch as *me*:" But may not the verb ſubſtantive *am* be underſtood, "to make others ſuch as *I am*?" and is ſuch an abbreviation uncommon? NEWTON.

Ver. 130. ——— *and*, him *deſtroyed*,] Milton ſometimes uſes the oblique caſe, inſtead of the nominative, in the ablative abſolute. Thus, in B. vii. 142, "*us* diſpoſſeſs'd." Again, in *Samſon*, v. 463, "*me* overthrown." But, in general, he obſerves the Engliſh form of adapting the nominative to what is called the caſe abſolute. TODD.

Ver. 136. ——— in one *day* to have marr'd
What he, *Almighty ſtyl'd*, ſix nights and days
Continued making;] This ſarcaſtically pointed ſneer on the ſix days work of creation, well adapted to the character of the ſpeaker, ſeems to have been ſuggeſted from *Quarles's Emblems*, B. ii. Embl. ii.

What he, Almighty ſtyl'd, ſix nights and days
Continued making; and who knows how long
Before had been contriving? though perhaps
Not longer than ſince I, in one night, freed
From ſervitude inglorious well nigh half
The angelick name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers: He, to be aveng'd,
And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
Whether ſuch virtue ſpent of old now fail'd
More Angels to create, if they at leaſt
Are his created, or, to ſpite us more,
Determin'd to advance into our room
A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,
Exalted from ſo baſe original,
With heavenly ſpoils, our ſpoils: What he decreed,
He effected; Man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this world, and earth his ſeat,
Him lord pronounc'd; and, O indignity!
Subjected to his ſervice angel-wings,

" ——" Are not thy joints grown ſore with ſhaking,
" To view the effect of thy bold undertaking,
" That in one hour didſt marr what Heaven ſix days was making."
DUNSTER.

Ver. 146. —— *if they at leaſt*
Are his created,] He queſtions whether the Angels were created by God; he had before aſſerted that they were not, to the Angels themſelves, B. v. 859.

" We know no time when we were not as now;
" Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
" By our own quickening power." NEWTON.

And flaming miniſters to watch and tend
Their earthy charge: Of theſe the vigilance
I dread; and, to elude, thus wrapt in miſt
Of midnight vapour glide obſcure, and pry
In every buſh and brake, where hap may find
The ſerpent ſleeping; in whoſe mazy folds
To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
O foul deſcent! that I, who erſt contended
With Gods to ſit the higheſt, am now con-
ſtrain'd
Into a beaſt; and, mix'd with beſtial ſlime,
This eſſence to incarnate and imbrute,
That to the highth of Deity aſpir'd!
But what will not ambition and revenge
Deſcend to? Who aſpires, muſt down as low

Ver. 156. *And* flaming *miniſters*] His Angels are "a *flaming fire*," Pſalm civ. 4. HUME.

Ver. 157. *Their* earthy charge:] *Pſalm* xci. 11. "He ſhall *give his angels charge over thee* to keep thee in all thy ways." The poet's own editions read *earthy;* almoſt every other edition *earthly*. TODD.

Ver. 161. ———— *in* whoſe *mazy folds*] Dr. Bentley reads, "in *his* mazy folds." NEWTON.

Ver. 164. ———— *am now conſtrain'd* &c.] The conſtruction is, am now forced into a beaſt, and to incarnate, &c. The verb *conſtrain'd* governs both the members; and there are innumerable inſtances (as Mr. Richardſon obſerves) in Milton, and in the beſt Latin and Greek poets, of the ſame verb governing in one member of the period a noun &c. and in the other a verb &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 166. *This eſſence to incarnate and imbrute,*] See the notes on *Comus,* v. 468. TODD.

Ver. 169. ———— *who aſpires, muſt* down *as low* &c.]

As high he ſoar'd; obnoxious, firſt or laſt,
To baſeſt things. Revenge, at firſt though ſweet,
Bitter ere long, back on itſelf recoils:
Let it; I reck not, ſo it light well aim'd,
Since higher I fall ſhort, on him who next

Rather " muſt *ſink* as low," ſays Dr. Bentley, becauſe it is better to have ſome verb in the oppoſition than the adverb *down*. But yet this way of ſpeaking is agreeable to what Milton ſays in B. x. 503. " But *up*, and enter now into full bliſs." In both places the adverbs are uſed as verbs, or ſome verb of motion is to be ſupplied in the ſenſe. PEARCE.

There is a moſt beautiful inſtance of the uſe of ſuch adverbs for verbs in Shakſpeare's ſecond part of *Hen.* IV.

" For now a time is come to mock at form;
" Henry the fifth is crown'd: *up*, Vanity!
" *Down*, royal State!" NEWTON.

Ver. 171. ——————— *Revenge, at firſt though ſweet,*
Bitter ere long, back on itſelf recoils:] The ſame ſentiment as in *Comus*, ver. 593.

" But evil on itſelf ſhall back recoil." TODD.

Ver. 173. *Let it;*] Let revenge recoil on itſelf, *I reck not*, I value not, *ſo it light well aim'd, ſince higher I fall ſhort, on him who next provokes my envy*, ſo it light on Man, ſince I cannot accompliſh my revenge on God. A truly diabolical ſentiment this. So he can but be any ways revenged, he does not value though his revenge recoil on himſelf. NEWTON.

I have often wondered that this ſpeech of Satan's eſcaped the particular obſervation of Addiſon. There is not in my opinion any one in the whole book that is worked up with greater judgement, or better ſuited to the character of the ſpeaker. There is all the horrour and malignity of a fiend-like Spirit expreſſed, and yet this is ſo artfully tempered with Satan's ſudden ſtarts of recollection upon the meanneſs and folly of what he was going to undertake, as plainly ſhow the remains of the Arch-Angel, and the ruins of a ſuperior nature. THYER.

Provokes my envy, this new favourite
Of Heaven, this man of clay, ſon of deſpite,
Whom, us the more to ſpite, his Maker rais'd
From duſt: Spite then with ſpite is beſt repaid.
So ſaying, through each thicket dank or dry,
Like a black miſt low-creeping, he held on
His midnight-ſearch, where ſooneſt he might find
The ſerpent; him faſt-ſleeping ſoon he found
In labyrinth of many a round ſelf-roll'd,
His head the midſt, well ſtor'd with ſubtile wiles:
Not yet in horrid ſhade or diſmal den,
Nor nocent yet; but, on the graſſy herb,
Fearleſs unfear'd he ſlept: in at his mouth
The Devil enter'd; and his brutal ſenſe,

Ver. 176. ——————— *ſon of deſpite,*] 'Tis a Hebraiſm by which wicked men are termed *ſons of Belial*, Deut. xiii. 13; valiant men, *ſons of courage*, II Sam. ii. 7; untameable beaſts, *ſons of pride*, Job xli; the diſciples, *ſons of light*, Luke xvi. 8. So Satan calls man the *ſon of deſpite*, the offspring of hatred and envy, created to increaſe his puniſhment by ſeeing *this man of clay* ſubſtituted into that glorious ſtation of him *forlorn, outcaſt of Heaven*. HUME.

Ver. 178. ——— *Spite then with ſpite is beſt repaid.*] Æſchylus, *Prometh.* v. 944.

Οὕτως ὑπερίζειν τὰς ὑπερζούσας χρεών. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 186. Nor *nocent yet;*] Thus it is in the ſecond and in the ſubſequent editions: In the firſt edition it is, "*Not* nocent yet." NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *graſſy herb,*] So we have in Virgil, "graminis herbam," *Ecl.* v. 26. NEWTON.

Ver. 187. ——————— *in at his mouth*
The Devil enter'd; &c.] Homer, *Il.* xvii. 210.

In heart or head, poſſeſſing, ſoon inſpir'd
With act intelligential; but his ſleep
Diſturb'd not, waiting cloſe the approach of morn.
Now, when as ſacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breath'd
Their morning incenſe, when all things, that breathe,

——————— ΔΥ δὲ μιν Ἄρης
Δεινὸς ἐνυάλιος· πλῆσθεν δ' ἄρα οἱ μέλε' ἐντὸς
Ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένεος. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 192. *Now, when as ſacred light* &c.] This is the morning of the ninth day, as far we can reckon the time in this poem; a great part of the action lying out of the ſphere of day. The firſt day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the ſpace of ſeven days after that he was coaſting round the earth; he comes into Paradiſe again by night, and this is the beginning of the ninth day, and the laſt of man's innocence and happineſs. The morning is often called *ſacred* by the poets, becauſe that time is uſually alloted to ſacrifice and devotion, as Euſtathius ſays in his remarks on Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 193. *In Eden on the humid flowers, that* breath'd
Their morning incenſe, &c.] Here Milton gives to the Engliſh word *breathe*, which is generally uſed in a more confined ſenſe, the extenſive ſignification of the Latin *ſpirare;* imitating perhaps Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. iv. 38.

" With pleaſance of the *breathing* fields yfed." THYER.

This beautiful paſſage in Milton has been the parent of two elegant imitations. For thus Pope, in his *Meſſiah*,

" See, Nature haſtes her earlieſt wreaths to bring,
" With all the *incenſe* of the *breathing* ſpring."

And Gray, in his *Elegy*,

" The breezy call of *incenſe-breathing morn.*"

Compare Sir Richard Tempeſt's *Entertainment of Solitarineſſe*, 1649, p. 10. " Morning Thoughts.—The *flowers* draw forth their

From the Earth's great altar ſend up ſilent praiſe
To the Creator, and his noſtrils fill
With grateful ſmell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worſhip to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice; that done, partake
The ſeaſon, prime for ſweeteſt ſcents and airs:
Then commune, how that day they beſt may ply
Their growing work: for much their work out-
grew
The hands' diſpatch of two gardening ſo wide,
And Eve firſt to her huſband thus began.
Adam, well may we labour ſtill to dreſs
This garden, ſtill to tend plant, herb, and flower,
Our pleaſant taſk enjoin'd; but, till more hands
Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
Luxurious by reſtraint; what we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides
Tending to wild. Thou therefore now adviſe,
Or bear what to my mind firſt thoughts preſent:

feverall flames and beauties, *offering ſweet incenſe* from their fragrant boſomes." TODD.

Ver. 197. *With grateful ſmell,*] This is in the ſtyle of the Eaſtern poetry. So it is ſaid, "The Lord ſmelled a ſweet favour," *Gen.* viii. 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 211. *One night or two with wanton growth derides*
Tending to wild.] This is an improvement upon Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 20.

"Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
"Exiguâ tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet." TODD.

Ver. 213. *Or* bear] So it is in the ſecond edition; but in

Let us divide our labours; thou, where choice
Leads thee, or where moſt needs, whether to wind
The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
The claſping ivy where to climb; while I,
In yonder ſpring of roſes intermix'd
With myrtle, find what to redreſs till noon:
For, while ſo near each other thus all day
Our taſk we chooſe, what wonder if ſo near
Looks intervene and ſmiles, or object new

the firſt, "Or *hear*." Either will do; and we find ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other, in the following editions.

NEWTON.

Ver. 218. *In yonder* ſpring *of roſes* &c.] Mr. Dunſter here obſerves that, in Fairfax's tranſlation of Taſſo, the enchanted wood is called "the dreadful *ſpring*" as well as the charmed *grove*;" and that, in the gloſſary to the tranſlation, *ſpring* is explained as ſignifying a *grove*. This interpretation is alſo countenanced by the poet's repreſenting Eve, after her converſation with Adam is cloſed, as betaking herſelf to the *groves*, ver. 388. At the ſame time I muſt not omit Barret's expoſition of this ſubſtantive as more ſuitable to roſes and woodbines than the application of *grove*. See Barret's *Alvearie*, fol. 1580, V. To ſpring: "To ſpring in ſtalkes, to bring forth *ſprings*, ſhootes, or ſhrubbes." TODD.

Ver. 221. ——————— *what wonder if* ſo near
Looks intervene and ſmiles,] The repetition, *ſo near*, is extremely beautiful; and naturally comes in here, as the chief intent of Eve's ſpeech was to perſuade Adam to let her go from him: She therefore dwells on *ſo near*, as the great obſtacle to their working to any purpoſe;

"For, while *ſo near* each other thus all day
"Our taſk we chooſe, what wonder if *ſo near*
"Looks intervene and ſmiles, &c. STILLINGFLEET.

Caſual diſcourſe draw on; which intermits
Our day's work, brought to little, though begun
Early, and the hour of ſupper comes unearn'd?
To whom mild anſwer Adam thus return'd.
Sole Eve, aſſociate ſole, to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures dear!
Well haſt thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employ'd,
How we might beſt fulfil the work which here
God hath aſſign'd us; nor of me ſhalt paſs
Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to ſtudy houſhold good,
And good works in her huſband to promote.
Yet not ſo ſtrictly hath our Lord impos'd
Labour, as to debar us when we need
Refreſhment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this ſweet intercourſe

Ver. 227. Sole *Eve, aſſociate* ſole,] As ſhe had the name of *Eve*, upon account of her being the *mother of all living*, Gen. iii. 20; the epithet *ſole* is as properly applied to *Eve*, as to *aſſociate*. PEARCE.

Ibid. ——————— *to me beyond*

Compare] Dr. Newton here ſays, that Milton has converted the verb *compare* into a noun. But *compare* had been employed for *compariſon* by preceding poets; and therefore Milton often uſes it. Many inſtances occur in this poem. See alſo his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, v. 556. Thus in *Britain's Ida*, formerly attributed to Spenſer, B. v. ver. 67.

" *Beyond compare* ſuch nothing is terreſtrial."

And Shakſpeare, *Troil. and Creſſ.* A. iii. S. ii.

" Full of proteſt, and oath, and big *compare*." TODD.

Of looks and ſmiles; for ſmiles from reaſon flow,
To brute denied, and are of love the food;
Love, not the loweſt end of human life.
For not to irkſome toil, but to delight,
He made us, and delight to reaſon join'd.
Theſe paths and bowers doubt not but our joint hands
Will keep from wilderneſs with eaſe, as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Aſſiſt us: But, if much converſe perhaps
Thee ſatiate, to ſhort abſence I could yield:
For ſolitude ſometimes is beſt ſociety,
And ſhort retirement urges ſweet return.

Ver. 240. ——————— *of* love *the* food;] Hope is ſtyled by Ovid the food of love, *Met.* ix. "quæ *paſcat amorem.*" And Muſick by Shakſpeare, in *Twelfth Night:*

"If muſick be the *food of love*, play on." DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. Theſe *paths*] So it is in all the early editions, till that of Tonſon in 1711, which reads "*The* paths;" a miſtake which has been followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley. TODD.

Ver. 245. *Will keep from* wilderneſs *with eaſe.*] From *wildneſs;* as in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, A. iii. S. i.

"For ſuch a warped ſlip of *wilderneſs*
"Ne'er iſſued from his blood." TODD.

Ver. 249. ——————— *is beſt ſociety,*] As Scipio ſaid, *Never leſs alone than when alone.* "Nunquam minùs ſolus quàm cùm ſolus." NEWTON.

So in Sidney's *Arcadia*: "Your excellencies have power to make cities envy theſe woods, and *ſolitarineſs* to be accounted the *ſweeteſt company*," B. iii. p. 409. BOWLE.

Ver. 250. *And ſhort* retirement urges *ſweet return.*] Retire-

But other doubt poſſeſſes me, leſt harm
Befall thee ſever'd from me; for thou know'ſt
What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
Envying our happineſs, and of his own
Deſpairing, ſeeks to work us woe and ſhame
By ſly aſſault; and ſomewhere nigh at hand
Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
His wiſh and beſt advantage, us aſunder;
Hopeleſs to circumvent us join'd, where each
To other ſpeedy aid might lend at need:
Whether his firſt deſign be to withdraw
Our feälty from God, or to diſturb
Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliſs
Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
Or this, or worſe, leave not the faithful ſide
That gave thee being, ſtill ſhades thee, and protects.
The wife, where danger or diſhonour lurks,
Safeſt and ſeemlieſt by her huſband ſtays,
Who guards her, or with her the worſt endures.
To whom the virgin majeſty of Eve,

ment, though but ſhort, makes the return ſweet: The word *urges* is to be referred to *retirement* only, and not to the epithet, which Adam ſeems to annex to it, only becauſe he could not bear to think of a *long* one. PEARCE.

Ver. 270. —— *the* virgin *majeſty of Eve*,] The ancients uſed the word *virgin*, with more latitude than we, as Virgil calls Paſiphae *virgin*, after ſhe had had three children, *Eclog.* vi. 47. And Ovid calls Medea "adultera *virgo*," Epiſt. *Hypſip. Jas.* v. 153. It is put here to denote beauty, bloom, ſweetneſs, modeſty,

As one who loves, and ſome unkindneſs meets,
With ſweet auſtere compoſure thus replied.
Offſpring of Heaven and Earth, and all Earth's Lord!
That ſuch an enemy we have, who ſeeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn,
And from the parting Angel over-heard,
As in a ſhady nook I ſtood behind,
Juſt then return'd at ſhut of evening flowers.

and all the amiable characters which are uſually found in a virgin, and theſe with matron majeſty: What a picture! RICHARDSON.

It is probable, Mr. Thyer obſerves, that Milton adopted this adjective ſenſe of the word *virgin* from the Italian *virginale*, which is an epithet very frequent in their poets when deſcribing beauty, modeſty, &c. But it is not uncommon in our poets. Thus, in *The Weakeſt goeth to the Wall*, 1600.

——"I haue noted in her, from her birth,
"A ſtraunge ennated kind of curteſie,
"An affable, inclining lenitie,
"With ſuch a *virgin* meekneſſe to regard, &c."

And in Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, 1652,

————"Her *virgin* ſweetneſs makes me
"Her juſt admirer." TODD.

Ver. 278. *Juſt then return'd at* ſhut *of* evening flowers.] What a natural notation of evening is this! And a proper time for her, who had *gone forth among her fruits and flowers*, B. viii. 44, to *return*. But we muſt not conceive that Eve is ſpeaking of the evening laſt paſt, for this was a week ago. Satan was caught tempting Eve in a dream, and fled out of Paradiſe that night; and with this ends book the fourth. After he had fled out of Paradiſe, he was ranging round the world ſeven days; but we have not any account of Adam and Eve, excepting only on the firſt of thoſe days, which begins with the beginning of

But, that thou ſhouldſt my firmneſs therefore doubt
To God or thee, becauſe we have a foe
May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
His violence thou fear'ſt not, being ſuch
As we, not capable of death or pain,
Can either not receive, or can repel.
His fraud is then thy fear; which plain infers
Thy equal fear, that my firm faith and love
Can by his fraud be ſhaken or ſeduc'd;
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breaſt,
Adam, miſ-thought of her to thee ſo dear?

book the fifth, where Eve relates her dream; that day at noon the Angel Raphael comes down from Heaven; the Angel and Adam diſcourſe together till evening, and they part at the end of book the eighth. There are ſix days therefore paſt in ſilence and we hear no more of Adam and Eve, till Satan has ſtolen again into Paradiſe. NEWTON.

This notation of time has been beautifully imitated by Mr. Warton, who begins his *Triumph of Iſis* with the following couplet:

"On *cloſing flowers* when genial gales diffuſe
"The fragrant tribute of refreſhing dews".——

Compare alſo Brown's *Brit. Paſt.* B. v. S. v.

——"The day is woxen olde,
"And 'gins to *ſhut* in with the *marigolde*." TODD.

Ver. 282. *His violence thou fear'ſt not,*] Adam had not ſaid ſo expreſſly, but had implied as much in enlarging particularly upon his *ſly aſſault*, v. 256, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 289. *Adam, miſ-thought of her to thee ſo dear?*] Dr. Bentley ſays that theſe words expreſs Adam's affection to her, and not her's to him, as the ſenſe requires: He therefore reads—

To whom with healing words Adam replied.
Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!
For ſuch thou art; from ſin and blame entire:
Not diffident of thee do I diſſuade
Thy abſence from my ſight, but to avoid
The attempt itſelf, intended by our foe.
For he who tempts, though in vain, at leaſt aſperſes
The tempted with diſhonour foul; ſuppos'd
Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
Againſt temptation: Thou thyſelf with ſcorn
And anger wouldſt reſent the offer'd wrong,
Though ineffectual found: miſdeem not then,
If ſuch affront I labour to avert
From thee alone, which on us both at once
The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare;
Or daring, firſt on me the aſſault ſhall light.

to thee ſo true? But Milton gave it *dear*, and made Eve here allude to what Adam had ſaid of her in ver. 227.

——————" to me beyond
" Compare above all living creatures *dear*."

If I am ſo dear to you, as you ſaid, how can you thus think amiſs of me? This was a good argument in Eve's mouth. PEARCE.

Ver. 291. Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!] As Eve had called Adam *Offspring of Heaven and Earth*, as made by God out of the duſt of the Earth; ſo Adam calls Eve *Daughter of God and Man*, as made by God out of Man; and acknowledges her to be *immortal*, as ſhe had ſaid herſelf, v. 283, that they were *not capable of death or pain;* but only ſo long as ſhe was *entire from ſin and blame:* " integer vitæ, ſceleriſque purus," Hor. *Od.* I. xxii. NEWTON.

Nor thou his malice and falſe guile contemn;
Subtle he needs muſt be, who could ſeduce
Angels; nor think ſuperfluous others aid.
I, from the influence of thy looks, receive
Acceſs in every virtue; in thy ſight
More wiſe, more watchful, ſtronger, if need were
Of outward ſtrength; while ſhame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or over-reach'd,
Would utmoſt vigour raiſe, and rais'd unite.
Why ſhouldſt not thou like ſenſe within thee feel
When I am preſent, and thy trial chooſe
With me, beſt witneſs of thy virtue tried?
So ſpake domeſtick Adam in his care

Ver. 312. ——— *while ſhame, thou looking on,*] Milton often uſes the nominative caſe abſolute, as the Greeks do; which whether it ſhould be called a caſe abſolute, or an ellipſis, we leave to the Grammarians to determine. JORTIN.

Ver. 314. ——— *and rais'd unite.*] Would unite and add vigour to *wiſdom*, *watchfulneſs*, and *every virtue* mentioned before. If this be not the meaning, it muſt be underſtood thus, Would raiſe the utmoſt vigour, and unite and collect it all when raiſed. NEWTON.

Ver. 316. ——— thy *trial*] Fenton reads, "*the* trial." TODD.

Ver. 318. ——— *domeſtick Adam*] This epithet ſeems to allude to what Adam had ſaid in v. 232.

——— "nothing lovelier can be found
"In woman than to ſtudy houſhold good,
"And good works in her huſband to promote."

Domeſtick in his care, may ſignify here one who has a careful re-

And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought
Leſs áttributed to her faith ſincere,
Thus her reply with accent ſweet renew'd.
If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit ſtraiten'd by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not endued
Single with like defence, wherever met;
How are we happy, ſtill in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not ſin: only our foe,
Tempting, affronts us with his foul eſteem
Of our integrity: his foul eſteem
Sticks no diſhonour on our front, but turns
Foul on himſelf; then wherefore ſhunn'd or fear'd
By us? who rather double honour gain
From his ſurmiſe prov'd falſe; find peace within,

gard to the good of his family; and all this ſpeech of Adam's was intended for the ſecurity of his wife. PEARCE.

Ver. 320. *Leſs áttributed*] That is, too little; an elegant Latiniſm. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 330. *Sticks no diſhonour on our* front,] Dr. Newton notices the jingle of *front* with *affronts* in v. 328; and ſays, that the poet alludes to the etymology of the word *affront*, adfrontare, i. e. *frontem fronti committere*, according to Skinner. So, in Italian, *affrontare*, to meet face to face. This ſenſe of *affront* often occurs in Shakſpeare. Minſheu's explanation of the word, in his *Guide to Tongues* 1627, is almoſt literally, *To ſtick diſhonour on the front*, viz. "Aliquem contumeliâ afficere in frontem." In *Samſon Agoniſtes* v. 532, Milton uſes the ſubſtantive *affront*, like the Italian *affronto*, for *encounter*. See alſo the verb *affront*, in this ſenſe, B. i. 391. TODD.

Favour from Heaven, our witneſs, from the event.
And what is faith, love, virtue, unaſſay'd
Alone, without exteriour help ſuſtain'd?
Let us not then ſuſpect our happy ſtate
Left ſo imperfect by the Maker wiſe,
As not ſecure to ſingle or combin'd.
Frail is our happineſs, if this be ſo,
And Eden were no Eden, thus expos'd.
To whom thus Adam fervently replied.
O Woman, beſt are all things as the will

Ver. 334. ——— *our witneſs, from the event.*] The Spirit bearing witneſs with our ſpirit, *Rom.* viii. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 335. *And what is faith, love, virtue, unaſſay'd*
Alone, without exteriour help ſuſtain'd?] What merit is there in any virtue, till it has ſtood the teſt alone, and without other aſſiſtance? Hor. *Od.* iv. ix. 29.

" Paulùm ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ
" Celata virtus." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 339. *As not ſecure to ſingle or combin'd.*] As not to be ſecure to us ſingle or together. NEWTON.

Ver. 342. *To whom thus Adam fervently replied.*
O Woman,] What Eve had juſt now ſaid required ſome reprimand from Adam, and it was neceſſary to deſcribe him as in ſome degree diſpleaſed; but what extreme delicacy has our author ſhown in chooſing the word *fervently* to expreſs it by! a term which though it implies ſome emotion, yet carries nothing in its idea inconſiſtent with that ſubſerviency of the paſſions, which ſubſiſted before the Fall. In the two foregoing ſpeeches he had made Adam addreſs himſelf to her in the affectionate terms of *Sole Eve, aſſociate ſole,* and *Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve;* but here with great judgement he changes thoſe endearing words for theſe more authoritative *O Woman.* I ſhould think that Milton in this expreſſion alluded to what our Saviour ſaid to the Virgin Mary, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* was not I

Of God ordain'd them: His creating hand
Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he created, much less Man,
Or aught that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
Against his will he can receive no harm.
But God left free the will; for what obeys
Reason, is free; and Reason he made right,
But bid her well be ware, and still erect;
Left, by some fair-appearing good surpris'd,
She dictate false; and mis-inform the will
To do what God expressly hath forbid.
Not then mistrust, but tender love, enjoins,

satisfied, that he could not with his learning take these words in the vulgar mistaken sense, which our translation naturally leads ignorant readers into; and must very well know that γυνὴ amongst the Greeks is a term of great respect. Indeed throughout this whole conversation, which the poet has in every respect worked up to a faultless perfection, there is the most exact observance of justness and propriety of character. With what strength is the superiour excellency of man's understanding here pointed out, and how nicely does our author here sketch out the defects peculiar in general to the female mind! and after all, what great art has he shown in making Adam, contrary to his better reason, grant his spouse's request, beautifully verifying what he had made our general ancestor a little before observe to the Angel! B. viii. 546, &c. THYER.

Ver. 353. *But bid her well be* ware;] *Ware* is an adjective, as in II *Tim.* iv. 15. "Of whom be thou *ware* also;" and in *Comus*, v. 557. "Silence was took ere she was *ware*." And therefore *be ware* should not have been printed as one word, but as two. NEWTON.

That I ſhould mind thee oft; and mind thou me.
Firm we ſubſiſt, yet poſſible to ſwerve;
Since Reaſon not impoſſibly may meet
Some ſpecious object by the foe ſuborn'd,
And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping ſtricteſt watch, as ſhe was warn'd.
Seek not temptation then, which to avoid
Were better, and moſt likely if from me
Thou ſever not: Trial will come unſought.
Wouldſt thou approve thy conſtancy, approve
Firſt thy obedience; the other who can know,
Not ſeeing thee attempted, who atteſt?
But, if thou think, trial unſought may find
Us both ſecurer than thus warn'd thou ſeem'ſt,
Go; for thy ſtay, not free, abſents thee more;
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou haſt of virtue; ſummon all!
For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.

Ver. 372. *Go; for thy ſtay, not free, abſents thee more;*] It is related of Milton's firſt wife, that ſhe had not cohabited with him above a month, before ſhe was very deſirous of returning to her friends in the country, there to ſpend the remainder of the ſummer. We may ſuppoſe, that, upon this occaſion, their converſation was ſomewhat of the ſame nature as Adam and Eve's; and it was upon ſome ſuch conſiderations as this, that, after much ſolicitation, he permitted her to go. It is the more probable, that he alluded to his own caſe in this account of Adam and Eve's parting, as in the account of their reconciliation it will appear that he copied exactly what happened to himſelf. NEWTON.

See Mr. T. Warton's opinion of this line, in his excellent note on the firſt verſe of Milton's eleventh *Sonnet*. TODD.

So ſpake the patriarch of mankind; but Eve
Perſiſted; yet ſubmiſs, though laſt, replied.
With thy permiſſion then, and thus forewarn'd
Chiefly by what thy own laſt reaſoning words
Touch'd only; that our trial, when leaſt ſought,
May find us both perhaps far leſs prepar'd,
The willinger I go, nor much expect
A foe ſo proud will firſt the weaker ſeek;
So bent, the more ſhall ſhame him his repulſe.
Thus ſaying, from her huſband's hand her hand
Soft ſhe withdrew; and, like a Wood-Nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves; but Delia's ſelf
In gait ſurpaſs'd, and Goddeſs-like deport,

Ver. 380. ——————— *that our trial,* &c.] Mark the reflections of Adam, however, on the event, ver. 1136, and B. x. 875. TODD.

Ver. 385. *Thus ſaying, from her huſband's hand her hand*
Soft ſhe withdrew;] The reader cannot but be pleaſed with this image. Notwithſtanding this difference of judgement, while Adam is reaſoning and arguing with her, he ſtill holds her by the hand, which ſhe gently withdraws, a little impatient to be gone, even while ſhe is ſpeaking. NEWTON.

Ver. 386. ——————— *and, like a Wood-Nymph* &c.] As this is the laſt deſcription of Eve in a ſtate of innocence, Milton has beſtowed upon her the richeſt colours of his poetry, and has compared her to every thing moſt beautiful of the kind that is to be found in the ancient fable, with which he thought it neceſſary to adorn even his Chriſtian poem. LORD MONBODDO.

Though not as ſhe with bow and quiver arm'd,
But with ſuch gardening tools as Art yet rude,
Guiltleſs of fire, had form'd, or Angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,

Ver. 390. *Though not as ſhe with bow and quiver arm'd,*] Alluding to Spenſer, F. Q. i. vi. 16.

" Sometimes Diana he her takes to bee,
" But miſſeth bow and ſhafts, and buſkins to her knee."

CALLANDER.

Ver. 392. Guiltleſs] *Guiltleſs* implies *unpolluted;* and the beſt writers, in a ſimilar way, repreſent the effect of art as pollution. Thus *Exod.* xx. 25. " And if thou wilt make me an altar of ſtone, thou ſhalt not build it of hewn ſtone; for, if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou haſt *polluted* it." See alſo Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 465, 466. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 393. *To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,*
Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd, &c.] She was likened to the Wood-Nymphs and Delia in regard to her gait; but now that Milton had mentioned her being *arm'd with garden tools*, he beautifully compares her to *Pales*, *Pomona*, and *Ceres*, all three goddeſſes like to each other in theſe circumſtances, that they were handſome, that they preſided over gardening and cultivation of ground, and that they are uſually deſcribed by the ancient poets, as carrying tools of gardening or huſbandry in their hands. Thus Ovid ſays of Pomona, *Met.* xiv. 628. " Nec jaculo gravis eſt, ſed aduncâ dextera falce." *When ſhe fled Vertumnus:* Milton's meaning is, that ſhe was like *Pomona*, not preciſely at the hour when ſhe fled *Vertumnus*, but at that time of her life when *Vertumnus* made his addreſſes to her, that is, in all her perfection of beauty, as deſcribed by Ovid in the place above-cited.

Or to Ceres in her prime: What! ſays Dr. Bentley, have goddeſſes the decays of old age, and do they grow *paſt their prime?* And yet it is very frequent with the old poets to deſcribe their gods as paſſing from youth to old age. Juvenal ſays, " Sed Jove *nondum barbato*," Sat. vi. 15. Virgil thus deſcribes Charon, *Æn.* vi. 304. " Jam *ſenior;* ſed cruda deo viridiſque *ſenectus.*" And again we have " Saturnúſque *ſenex*," Æn. vii. 180. PEARCE.

Likeſt ſhe ſeem'd, Pomona when ſhe fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proſerpina from Jove.

Ver. 394. Likeſt *ſhe ſeem'd,*] So it is in Milton's firſt edition: In the ſecond, by miſtake, it is printed *Likelieſt*, which has been followed in all the editions ſince, at leaſt in all that I have ſeen. NEWTON.

Ver. 396. *Yet* virgin of Proſerpina *from Jove.*] Dr. Bentley ſays, What monſter of a phraſe is that *virgin of Proſerpina?* And I confeſs that it is one of the moſt forced expreſſions in this whole poem: probably our poet was led into it, by imitating the like phraſe of ſome Italian poet. But the ſenſe is plain enough, viz. that ſhe had not yet borne *Proſerpina*, who derived her birth *from Jove:* for the like uſe of the word *from*, when other words are to be ſupplied in the ſenſe, ſee B. ii. 542, and B. viii. 213. I have met with ſome gentlemen, who thought that the laſt of theſe verſes ought to be read thus,

——— " or to Ceres in her prime
" Yet virgin, *or* Proſerpina from Jove."

And this reading at firſt ſight is very apt to pleaſe and perſuade one of its genuineneſs, becauſe it frees the text from that hard expreſſion, *virgin of Proſerpina:* But when we conſider the matter further, it will be found that Milton could never have intended to compare Eve with Proſerpina, becauſe ſhe had nothing to do with huſbandry or gardening, on account of which only this compariſon is introduced. PEARCE.

This ſeems to be a Greciſm, and tranſlated from Theocritus (*Idyl.* ii. 136,) who ſays παρθένον ἐκ θαλάμοιο for *Virginem innuptam.* It is the ſame turn of expreſſion in both. So that Dr. Bentley was ſtrangely miſtaken in calling it *a monſter of an expreſſion, and not human language;* it having an elegance ſuperiour in my opinion to the Engliſh phraſe—" a virgin, not having yet conceived Proſerpina who was begot by Jove." WARBURTON.

This conſtruction, as far as I know, is neither Greek nor Latin, but entirely Milton's own, and which, I think, does more violence to the language than any other that he has uſed. The expreſſion,

Her long with ardent look his eye purſued
Delighted, but deſiring more her ſtay.
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated; ſhe to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
And all things in beſt order to invite
Noontide repaſt, or afternoon's repoſe.
O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapleſs Eve,

virgin of Proſerpina, is certainly not common Engliſh, and many will deny it to be Engliſh at all; but let any man try to expreſs the ſame thought otherwiſe, and he will be convinced how much Milton has raiſed and ennobled his ſtyle by an idiom ſo uncommon, but which is, notwithſtanding, ſufficiently intelligible.

LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 401. *To be return'd by noon* amid *the bower*,
And *all things in beſt order to invite*] Here ſeems to be a want of a verb before *all things* &c. Dr. Bentley therefore reads,

" To be return'd by noon, *and at* the bower
" *Have* all things in beſt order to invite."

But, if it be neceſſary to inſert the word *have*, I would read thus, with leſs alteration,

" And all things in beſt order *have* to invite." PEARCE.

There ſeems to be no neceſſity for any alteration. If *the bower* had been mentioned alone, he would hardly have ſaid *amid the bower*, but rather *at the bower* or *in the bower;* but *amid the bower and all things* is right. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet thinks, that *to be*, from the preceding verſe, is underſtood after *all things*. Mr. Dunſter believes there is a bold ellipſis intended of *have:* " And *have* all things, &c." TODD.

Ver. 404. *O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapleſs Eve,*
Of thy preſum'd return!] That is, much failing of thy preſumed return. Theſe beautiful apoſtrophes, and anticipations, are frequent in the poets, who affect to ſpeak in the cha-

Of thy preſum'd return! event perverſe!
Thou never from that hour in Paradiſe
Found'ſt either ſweet repaſt, or ſound repoſe;
Such ambuſh, hid among ſweet flowers and ſhades,
Waited with helliſh rancour imminent
To intercept thy way, or ſend thee back
Deſpoil'd of innocence, of faith, of bliſs!
For now, and ſince firſt break of dawn, the Fiend,
Mere ſerpent in appearance, forth was come;
And on his queſt, where likelieſt he might find
The only two of mankind, but in them
The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
In bower and field he ſought, where any tuft
Of grove or garden-plot more pleaſant lay,
Their tendance, or plantation for delight;
By fountain or by ſhady rivulet
He ſought them both, but wiſh'd his hap might find
Eve ſeparate; he wiſh'd, but not with hope
Of what ſo ſeldom chanc'd; when to his wiſh,
Beyond his hope, Eve ſeparate he ſpies,

racter of prophets, and like men inſpired with the knowledge of futurity. See Virgil, *Æn.* x. 501, &c. and Homer, *Il.* xvii. 497. NEWTON.

Ver. 408. *Such ambuſh*, hid] In Tonſon's edition of 1711 it is printed, probably by an errour of the preſs, "Such ambuſh *laid;*" which reading, however, has been followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Dr. Bentley. Dr. Newton reſtored the genuine reading, "Such ambuſh *hid.*" TODD.

Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where ſhe ſtood,
Half ſpied, ſo thick the roſes bluſhing round
About her glow'd, oft ſtooping to ſupport
Each flower of ſlender ſtalk, whoſe head, though gay
Carnation, purple, azure, or ſpeck'd with gold,
Hung drooping unſuſtain'd; them ſhe upſtays
Gently with myrtle band, mindleſs the while
Herſelf, though faireſt unſupported flower,
From her beſt prop ſo far, and ſtorm ſo nigh.
Nearer he drew, and many a walk travérs'd
Of ſtatelieſt covert, cedar, pine, or palm;

Ver. 425. *Veil'd in a* cloud *of fragrance,*] Hence Pope, with the alteration of a ſingle word, *Iliad* xv. 174.

" Veil'd in a *miſt* of fragrance him they found."

But compare Homer himſelf:

—— ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν ΘΥΟΕΝ ΝΕΦΟΣ ἙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΤΟ.

Mr. Dunſter obſerves, that Milton may here be referred to Dante's deſcription of Beatrice, as ſhe deſcends to him in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, *Purg.* C. xxx. 28.

" Così *dentro una nuvola di fiori,*
" Che dalle mani angeliche ſaliva,
" E ricadeva giù dentro, e di fuori,
" Sovra candido vel, cinta d' oliva,
" Donna m' apparve." TODD.

Ver. 429. —— *mindleſs the while*
Herſelf, though faireſt unſupported flower,] The ſame manner of ſpeaking, as in B. iv. 269.

—— " where Proſerpine gathering flowers,
" Herſelf a fairer flower by gloomy Dis
" Was gather'd."

A thought that muſt have pleaſed the author, ſince he has it a ſecond time. NEWTON.

Then voluble and bold, now hid, now ſeen,
Among thick-woven arborets, and flowers
Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve:
Spot more delicious than thoſe gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd 440

Ver. 437. ——————— *arborets,*] A word from Spenſer, as Mr. Callander alſo notices, F. Q. ii. vi. 12.

" No *arboret* with painted bloſſoms dreſt." TODD.

Ver. 438. Imborder'd *on each bank,*] Dr. Bentley believes, that Milton gave it *imbroider'd*, proper to *thick-woven*. But *imborder'd* is the right word, according to biſhop Kennet, who, in his Gloſſary to his *Parochial Antiquities* in the word *bordarii*, ſays, Some derive it from the old Gallick *bords*, the limits or extremes of any extent; as the *borders* of a county, and the *borderers* or inhabitants in thoſe parts: Whence the *bordure* of a garment, and to *imborder* which we corrupt to *imbroider*. See alſo Furetiere's French Dictionary on the words *brodeur* and *embordurer*.

PEARCE.

Imborder'd is the true reading; becauſe, as Milton is comparing this particular ſpot to the garden of Alcinous, he uſes *imborder'd*, as alluding to, or rather as illuſtrating, a word of ſimilar meaning, in Homer's charming deſcription of that celebrated garden, *Odyſſ.* vii. 127.

Ἐνθα δὲ κοσμηται ΠΡΑΣΙΑΙ πᾶρὰ νῆἀτον ὄρχον
Παντοῖαι πἰφυκασι, ἐπηβολὸν γανόωσαι.

To *imborder*, is one of the Miltonick words of which Dr. Johnſon takes no notice in his Dictionary. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *the* hand *of Eve:*] The *handiwork;* as we ſay of a picture, that it is the *hand* of ſuch a maſter. And thus Virgil, *Æn.* i. 455.

" Artificúmque *manus* inter ſe operúmque laborem
" Miratur." NEWTON.

Ver. 439. ——————————— *thoſe gardens feign'd*
Or of reviv'd Adonis, &c.] Dr. Bentley pronounces this paſſage ſpurious; " for that the κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος, the *gardens*

Alcinous, hoft of old Laertes' ſon;
Or that, not myſtick, where the ſapient king

of Adonis, ſo frequently mentioned by Greek writers, were nothing but portable earthen pots, with ſome lettice or fennel growing in them. On his yearly feſtival every woman carried one of them for Adonis's worſhip, becauſe Venus had once laid him in a lettice bed." To this Dr. Pearce replies, "That this account of the *gardens of Adonis* is right, and yet Milton may be defended for what he ſays of them; for why (ſays he) did the Grecians on Adonis's feſtival carry theſe ſmall gardens about in honour of him? It was, becauſe they had a *tradition*, that, when he was alive, he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one: for proof of this we have Pliny's words, xix. 4. *Antiquitas nihil prius mirata eſt quàm Heſperidum* HORTOS, *ac regum* ADONIDIS *et Alcinoi*." One would now think the queſtion well decided: but Mr. Theobald comes, and will needs be Dr. Bentley's ſecond. "A learned and reverend gentleman (ſays he), having attempted to impeach Dr. Bentley of errour, for maintaining that there *never were exiſtent* any magnificent or ſpacious gardens of Adonis, an opinion in which it has been my fortune to ſecond the doctor, I thought myſelf concerned, in ſome part, to weigh thoſe authorities alleged by the objector, &c." The reader ſees that Mr. Theobald miſtakes the very queſtion in diſpute between theſe two truly learned men, which was not whether *Adonis's gardens were ever exiſtent*, but whether there was *a tradition of any celebrated garden cultivated by Adonis*. For this would ſufficiently juſtify Milton's mention of them, together with the gardens of Alcinous, confeſſed by the poet himſelf to be fabulous. *There was no ſuch garden*, ſays Dr. Bentley, *ever exiſtent*, or *even feigned*. He adds the latter part, as knowing that would juſtify the poet; and it is on that aſſertion only that his adverſary Dr. Pearce joins iſſue with him. "Why (ſays he) did they carry the ſmall earthen gardens? It was, becauſe they had a *tradition*, that when alive he delighted in gardens." Mr. Theobald, therefore, miſtaking the queſtion, it is no wonder that all he ſays, is nothing to the purpoſe; it being to ſhow that Dr. Pearce's quotations from Pliny and others, do not prove the real *exiſtence* of the gardens. After theſe comes Sir Thomas Hanmer; and he pronounces in favour of Dr. Bentley

Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian ſpouſe.
Much he the place admir'd, the perſon more.
As one who long in populous city pent,
Where houſes thick and ſewers annoy the air,
Forth iſſuing on a ſummer's morn, to breathe
Among the pleaſant villages and farms
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight;
The ſmell of grain, or tedded graſs, or kine,
Or dairy, each rural ſight, each rural ſound;
If chance, with nymph-like ſtep, fair virgin paſs,
What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more;

againſt Dr. Pearce, in theſe words, *The gardens of Adonis were never repreſented under any local deſcription.* But whether this was ſaid at hazard, or to contradict Dr. Pearce, or to rectify Mr. Theobald's miſtake of the queſtion, it is ſo obſcurely expreſſed, that one can hardly determine. WARBURTON.

It may be added, that Dr. Pearce's references, beſides the above to Pliny, are to Marino's *L'Adone*, C. vi. Spenſer's *Faer. Qu.* b. iii. c. vi. and to Huetius's *Demonſtr. Evangel.* prop. iv. c. iii. Dr. Newton adds, that Shakſpeare mentions the *gardens of Adonis*, in the firſt part of *K. Hen.* VI. A. i. S. vi; on which paſſage the preceding note of Warburton was written. See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 976. The *revival* of Adonis, in Spenſer, is beautifully deſcribed. TODD.

Ver. 442. *Or that, not myſtick,*] The garden of Solomon; of which, Cotovicus, a learned civilian of Utrecht, who viſited Paleſtine in 1598, gives a very engaging deſcription. See his travels, entitled *Itinerarium Hieroſolymitanum*, &c. fol. Antverpiæ, 1619, p. 243. TODD.

Ver. 450. ———————— tedded *graſs,*] Graſs juſt mowed, and ſpread for drying. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 453. *What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more;*] Did not the beautiful aſſemblage of proper circumſtances in this char-

She moſt, and in her look ſums all delight:
Such pleaſure took the Serpent to behold
This flowery plat, the ſweet receſs of Eve
Thus early, thus alone: Her heavenly form

mingly natural and familiar ſimile lead one to think, that Milton took the hint of it from ſome real ſcene of this ſort, which had ſome time or other ſmitten his fancy, I ſhould be apt to think that he alluded to this ſame thought in Spenſer, who, deſcribing his hero Guyon with a fair lady upon a little iſland adorned with all the beauties of nature, adds, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vi. 24.

" And all, though pleaſaunt, yet ſhe made much more."

THYER.

Ver. 457. ———— *Her heavenly form* &c.] This is a ſcene of much the ſame nature with that betwixt the Saracen king Aladin and the Italian virgin Sophronia in the 2d Canto of Taſſo's *Jeruſalem:* and though perhaps it would be going too far to ſay that Milton has borrowed from thence, yet I think it muſt give the reader ſome pleaſure to ſee, how two great geniuſes naturally fall into the ſame thoughts upon ſimilar ſubjects. Milton, ſpeaking of Eve, ſays,

———— " her every air
" Of geſture or leaſt action over-aw'd
" His malice, &c.

Taſſo, ſpeaking of Sophronia's addreſſing herſelf to the fierce Aladin, ſays,

" A l'honeſta baldanza, a l'improviſo
" Folgorar di bellezze altere, e ſante,
" Quaſi confuſo il re, quaſi conquiſo
" Frenò lo ſdegno, e placò il fier ſembiante."

How like again is what Milton ſays of Satan,

" That ſpace the Evil-one abſtracted ſtood
" From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
" Stupidly good;"————

to what Taſſo ſays of the ſtate of Aladin's mind,

" Fù ſtupor, fù vaghezza, e fù diletto,
" S'amor non fù, che moſſe il cor villano!"

Angelick, but more ſoft, and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air
Of geſture, or leaſt action, overaw'd
His malice, and with rapine ſweet bereav'd
His fierceneſs of the fierce intent it brought:
That ſpace the Evil-one abſtracted ſtood
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good; of enmity diſarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge:
But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heaven, ſoon ended his delight,

They both alſo agree in making each of them immediately to relapſe into their firſt character. Milton;

——————— " then ſoon
" Fierce hate he recollects,"———

Taſſo;

" Qui comincia il tirranno a riſdegnarſi:"

It muſt be owned however, that, notwithſtanding this ſimilitude of circumſtances, the Engliſh poet vaſtly excels the Italian both in ſtrength of ſentiments, and beauty of expreſſion. It may be further obſerved, that there never was a finer or juſter compliment paid to beauty than is here by Milton, as it is not made up of rant and rhapſody as moſt of this kind are, but only ſaying what one may eaſily imagine might have really happened upon the ſight of ſo delightful a ſcene. THYER.

Ver. 462. *His* fierceneſs *of the* fierce *intent*] Though Dr. Bentley thinks it jejune, yet ſuch a repetition is not uncommon in the beſt poets. Virgil, *Æn.* i. 669.

——— " et noſtro *doluiſti* ſæpe *dolore*." NEWTON.

Ver. 468. *Though in mid Heaven,*] That is, would do though he were in Heaven; or it may be underſtood as if he were ſometimes in Heaven, and juſtified by *Job* i. 6, ii. 1. " There was a day, when the ſons of God came to preſent themſelves before

And tortures him now more, the more he ſees
Of pleaſure, not for him ordain'd: then ſoon
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of miſchief, gratulating, thus excites.
Thoughts, whither have ye led me! with what ſweet
Compulſion thus tranſported, to forget
What hither brought us! hate, not love; nor hope
Of Paradiſe for Hell, hope here to taſte
Of pleaſure; but all pleaſure to deſtroy,
Save what is in deſtroying; other joy
To me is loſt. Then, let me not let paſs
Occaſion which now ſmiles; behold alone

the Lord; and *Satan came alſo among them to preſent himſelf before the Lord.*" And Satan ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 366.

——— " nor from the Heaven of Heavens
" Hath he excluded my reſort ſometimes." NEWTON.

Ver. 474. ——————————— *with what* ſweet
Compulſion] So, in *Arcades*, v. 68.

" Such *ſweet compulſion* doth in muſick lie." TODD.

Ver. 478. ——————————— *other joy*
To me is loſt.] How exactly does Milton make Satan keep up the character he had aſſumed in the fourth book, where he ſays,

" Evil, be thou my good &c.!" THYER.

Ver. 480. ——————————— *behold alone*
The woman, &c.] In the ſacred drama of *Protoplastus*, written by Hieron. Zieglerus, and publiſhed in 1547, there is a converſation between Lucifer, Belial, and Satan, on the method to be employed in ſeducing Adam and Eve; when Satan declines aſſailing the man, and ſays, A. ii. S. iii.

The woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her huſband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whoſe higher intellectual more I ſhun,
And ſtrength, of courage haughty, and of limb
Heroick built, though of terreſtrial mould;
Foe not informidable! exempt from wound,
I not; ſo much hath Hell debas'd, and pain
Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods!
Not terrible, though terrour be in love
And beauty, not approach'd by ſtronger hate,
Hate ſtronger, under ſhow of love well feign'd;
The way which to her ruin now I tend.

So ſpake the enemy of mankind, enclos'd
In ſerpent, inmate bad! and toward Eve
Addreſs'd his way: not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as ſince; but on his rear,

" Heus, non virum tentabimus; *mulier* erit
" *His rebus aptior:* viri ingenium, ſcio,
" Flecti nequit, frangi poteſt muliere duce." TODD.

Ver. 490. *Not terrible, though terrour be in love*
And beauty, not approach'd by ſtronger hate,] That is, A beautiful woman is approached with terrour, unleſs he, who approaches her, has a ſtronger hatred of her than her beauty can beget love in him. PEARCE.

Something like this, as Mr. Thyer obſerves, is in *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 159, where ſee the notes. TODD.

Ver. 496. ———— indented] *Indented* is of the ſame derivation as *indenture*, notched and going in and out like the teeth of a ſaw: And Shakſpeare likewiſe applies it to the motions of a ſnake, in *As you like it*, A. iv. S. iii.

" And with *indented* glides did ſlip away." NEWTON.

Circular baſe of riſing folds, that tower'd
Fold above fold, a ſurging maze! his head

Ver. 498. *Circular baſe of riſing folds,*] As the dragon or ſerpent is deſcribed by Orpheus, *De Lap.* Arg. ver. 44.

——————————— εἵλυτο δὲ πυκνῶς,
Γνάμπτων εὐκύκλως ταναὴν ῥάχιν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλω
Ἄλλος, ἔπειτα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλος ἑλισσομένῳ τροχὸς. TODD.

Ver. 499. *Fold above fold,* &c.] We have the deſcription of ſuch a ſort of ſerpent in Ovid, *Met.* iii. 32.

——————— " criſtis præſignis et auro;
" Igne micant occuli ———
" Ille volubilibus ſquamoſos nexibus orbes
" Torquet, et immenſos ſaltu ſinuatur in arcus:
" Ac mediâ plus parte leves erectus in auras,
" Deſpicit omne nemus, &c."

But Milton has not only imitated Ovid, but has ranſacked all the good poets, who have ever made a remarkable deſcription of a ſerpent; and the reader may obſerve ſome touches very like Grotius's deſcription of the ſame ſerpent, in his tragedy of *Adamus Exul:*

———————" oculi ardent duo:
" Adrecta cervix ſurgit, et maculis nitet
" Pectus ſuperbis; cærulis picti notis
" Sinuantur orbes: tortiles ſpiræ micant
" Auri colore, &c." NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle cites Taſſo's deſcription of a ſerpent, *Gier. Lib.* C. xv. ſt. 48.

" Innalza d' oro ſquallido ſquamoſe
" Le creſte, e'l capo; e gonfia il collo d'ira:
" Arde ne gli occhi."

The "*igne micant,*" and "*ardent* oculi," are both expreſſed, I think, by the word *carbuncle:* a jewel reſembling in its colour, a burning coal. Hence perhaps it is called "the *fiery* carbuncle," in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, p. 66. In the ſame work alſo Aſtronomy perſonified is deſcribed with "two *carbuncles* for *eyes*," p. 291. And "the helliſh Pyrrhus," in *Hamlet's* ſpeech to the

Creſted aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burniſh'd neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidſt his circling ſpires, that on the graſs
Floated redundant: pleaſing was his ſhape
And lovely; never ſince of ſerpent-kind

Players, has "*eyes* like *carbuncles*." I find a ſerpent thus deſcribed in Murtola's *Creatione del Mondo*, 1608, C. xii. ſt. 11.

"Come *carboni* luminoſi ardenti
"Gli *occhi* acceſi vibrò l' Anfeſibena." TODD.

Ver. 504. ——— *never ſince of ſerpent-kind* &c.] Satan is not here compared and preferred to the fineſt and moſt memorable ſerpents of antiquity, the Python and the reſt; but only to the moſt memorable of thoſe ſerpents into which others were transformed; and with the greater propriety, as he was himſelf now transformed into a ſerpent. And in this view it is ſaid that none were *lovelier, not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus.* This *Cadmus* together with his wife leaving Thebes in Bœotia, which he had founded and for divers misfortunes quitted, and coming into *Illyria*, they were both turned into ſerpents for having ſlain one ſacred to Mars, as we read in Ovid. But the expreſſion, *thoſe that chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, has occaſioned ſome difficulty. Did thoſe ſerpents, ſays Dr. Bentley, *change Hermione and Cadmus?* or were not theſe, who were man and woman once, *chang'd* into ſerpents? And Dr. Pearce replies, We may excuſe this as a poetical liberty of expreſſion; 'tis much the ſame as the criticks have obſerved in Ovid's *Metam.* i. 1. where "*formas mutatas in nova corpora*" ſtand for "*corpora mutata in novas formas.*" In both places the *changing* is attributed, not to the perſons changed, but to the forms or ſhapes into which they were changed. *Which chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, that is, into which Hermione and Cadmus were changed. So Horace ſays, Sat. ii. viii. 49.

——————————"aceto
"Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverat uvam,"

for *in quod vitio mutata eſt uva Methymnæa.* If this may be not allowed to paſs, yet I ſee no reaſon (ſays Dr. Pearce) why the

Lovelier, not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd, 505
Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd

conſtruction may not be this, *not thoſe that in Illyria* (were) *chang'd*, viz. *Hermione and Cadmus* &c. Or perhaps this; *not thoſe that Hermione and Cadmus chang'd*, where *chang'd* ſtands for *chang'd* to; as in B. x. 540, we have the ſame way of ſpeaking,

——————" for what they ſaw,
" They felt themſelves, now *changing*."

But, after all theſe very ingenious conjectures, I conceive the meaning to be as it is expreſſed, and the expreſſion to be the moſt proper and appoſite that could be. The ſerpents *chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*. The form of ſerpents was ſuperinduced, but they ſtill retained the ſame ſenſe and memory; and this Ovid ſays expreſſly, *Met.* iv. 595 &c. They were therefore ſtill Hermione and Cadmus, though changed, as the Devil was ſtill the Devil, though encloſed in a ſerpent. And thus it may be ſaid with the greateſt propriety, that none of ſerpent-kind were lovelier, *not thoſe that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus, or the god in Epidaurus*, that is Æſculapius the god of phyſick, who was worſhipped at *Epidaurus*, and, being ſent for to Rome in the time of a plague, aſſumed the form of a ſerpent and accompanied the ambaſſadours, as the ſtory was related in the eleventh book of Livy, and may ſtill be read in the fifteenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoſis:* but though he was thus changed in appearance, he was ſtill Æſculapius, " *In ſerpente deus*," as Ovid calls him, *the deity in a ſerpent*, and under that form continued to be worſhipped at Rome. NEWTON.

I follow the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Dunſter, in placing a comma after *chang'd*, which removes the alleged difficulty of the paſſage; it being generally underſtood that the neuter verb *to change* is moſt commonly uſed in our language for *to undergo a change*.
TODD.

Ver. 507. —————— nor to which &c.] *Nor* were thoſe ſerpents lovelier, *to which transform'd Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline, was ſeen;* Jupiter Ammon, and Jupiter Capitolinus, the

Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline, was ſeen;
He with Olympias; this with her who bore
Scipio, the highth of Rome. With tract oblique
At firſt, as one who ſought acceſs, but fear'd
To interrupt, ſide-long he works his way.
As when a ſhip, by ſkilful ſteerſmen wrought

one the Lybian Jupiter, the other the Roman, called *Capitoline* from the Capitol, his temple at Rome: *He with Olympias*, the firſt the pretended father of Alexander the Great, converſing with his mother Olympias in the form of a ſerpent: *this with her who bore Scipio the highth of Rome*, the latter fabled in like manner to have been the father of Scipio Africanus, who raiſed his country and himſelf to the higheſt pitch of glory.

Ver. 510. —— the highth of Rome] Dr. Bentley objects to this expreſſion *the highth of Rome*. But as Dr. Pearce obſerves in anſwer, this expreſſion is much of the ſame nature with Ovid's "*Summa ducum Atrides;*" Amor. I. 1. el. 9. v. 37. and with Cicero's expreſſion "*Apex* ſenectutis eſt auctoritas," de Senect. The Italians, whoſe expreſſions Milton often imitates, uſe *altezza* in the ſame ſenſe, if I remember aright. NEWTON.

See my note on "thoſe the top of eloquence," *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 353. TODD.

Ver. 513. *As when a ſhip*, &c.] There are ſome Latin poems of Andrew Ramſay, a Scotchman in the time of Charles the firſt, under this title *Poemata ſacra Andreæ Ramſei Paſtoris Edinburgeni. Edinburgi* 1633. The book is now grown very ſcarce, but there are few poems in it. The principal is one in four books, the firſt of the creation, the ſecond of the happy ſtate of man, the third of the fall of man, the fourth of the redemption of man by Jeſus Chriſt: and this poem was recommended to me as a performance to which Milton had been much obliged and indebted: but upon peruſing it I do not well ſee how two authors could write ſo much upon the ſame ſubjects, and write more differently. There are few or no traces to be diſcovered of any ſimilitude or reſemblance between them, but in the ſimile before us, and the fol-

Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft ſo ſteers, and ſhifts her ſail: 515

lowing one of the Scotch poet, and theſe are ſo different, and applied ſo differently, that they may both be originals, or at leaſt not the copy the one of the other. Milton's is applied to the oblique motion of the ſerpent, this of Ramſay to the Devil tempting our Saviour, and, when one temptation would not avail, trying another:

——" Ut vento portum qui fortè reflante
" Non potis eſt capere, is malos et lintea vela
" Carbaſeóſque ſinus obliquat, tendere rectà
" Qua nequit, incurvo radit vada cærula curſu;
" Sic gnarus verſare dolos, et imagine falſa
" Ludere Tartareus coluber, contingere metam
" Se non poſſe videns primo molimine, curſum
" Mutat, et ad palmam converſo tramite tendit."

So that upon the whole it is to be queſtioned whether Milton had ever ſeen theſe poems of Ramſay, or knew any thing of them; and he might ſtill ſay with truth that he purſued

" Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime."

And in general it may be ſaid, that reſemblance is not plagiariſm. Different authors may poſſibly hit upon the ſame thought without borrowing from one another. An author, of great reading eſpecially, may be tinged and coloured as it were by his reading: his writings may have ſomething of the taſte of the books which he has read without his knowing it, as the ſtream partakes of the qualities of the earth through which it paſſes; and he may ſometimes make uſe of the thoughts of others, and ſtill believe them his own. This may be the caſe with regard to thoſe authors whom he is known to have read; and much leſs can he be certainly charged with ſtealing from authors, when it is very uncertain whether he has read them or not. NEWTON.

Mr. R. Richardſon, of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, the earlieſt vindicator of Milton from the invidious charges of Lauder, obſerves, that he was once inclined to think that, as the motion and working of a ſhip are compared to the motions of a ſerpent in the fifth *Æneid*, Milton might apply the ſimile *vice verſâ*; but

So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in ſight of Eve,

that he finds Milton to be his own beſt commentator; becauſe, within three lines, are theſe remarkable words, *or the god in Epidaurus;* where it is viſible, he ſays, to any one, that Milton has traced Ovid throughout the whole transformation of *Æſculapius* in the 15th *Metamorphoſis*, and from the various circumſtances of the ſhip which carries into port the god in the ſerpent (parallel to which is Satan in the ſerpent) has compoſed this fine ſimile. *Zoilomaſtix*, &c. 1747, pp. 21, 22. I beg leave to cite a beautiful ſimile, comparing the ſhip to the ſerpent, (which has eſcaped Mr. Richardſon) from Apollonius Rhodius, in whoſe poetry Milton manifeſtly delighted, *Argon.* iv. 1541.

Ὡς δὲ δράκων σκολίην εἰλιγμένος ἔρχεται οἶμον,
Εὖτε μιν ὀξύτατον θάλπει σέλας ἠελίοιο·
Σπινθαρύγεσσι πυρὸς ἐναλίγκια μαιμώοντι
Λάμπεται, ὄφρα μυχόνδε διὰ ῥωχμοῖο δύηται·
Ὡς Ἀργὼ λίμνης τόμα ναύπορον ἐξερέυσα,
Ἀμφιπόλει δηναιὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον.

It may be obſerved that he particularly mentions the *Argo*, P. L. B. ii. 1017. And therefore it is more probable that this remarkable ſimile, applied to ſo remarkable a ſhip, might have here occured to his memory. TODD.

The ſimile may, I think, be traced to another ſource. See Nicander, *Ther.* 266.

Αὐτὰρ ὅγε σκαιὸς μεσάτῳ ἐπαλίνδεται ὁλκῷ,
Οἷμον ὁδοιπλανέων σκολιὴν τετρηχότι νώτῳ,
Τράμπιος ὁλκαίης ἀκάτῳ ἶσος, ἥτε δ' ἅλμης
Πλευρὸν ὅλον βάπτουσα, κακοσταθέοντος ἀήτου,
Εἰς ἄνεμον βεβίηται ἀπόκρουστος λιγὺς οὖρῳ.

Milton ſeems to have treaſured up theſe lines in his mind, with a deſign, when the occaſion offered, to imitate and excel them. That he recollected the admired ſimile in his favourite poet Apollonius Rhodius, is the juſt remark of his preſent editor.

It is well known, that ſo extenſive was Milton's reading, and ſo deep his reſearch, that ſcarcely any author of eminence, ancient

To lure her eye; ſhe, buſied, heard the ſound
Of ruſling leaves, but minded not, as us'd

or modern, ſacred or profane, eſcaped his obſervation. If the writer, whoſe work he was peruſing, appeared to poſſeſs a congenial ſpirit; if that writer's ſubject in any degree aſſimilated to his own; every page was then explored with unabating induſtry, and the caſket was ſure to be rifled for the jewels it contained.

Among the many poets, with whoſe works Milton was converſant, no inconſiderable portion of his eſteem was reſerved for Nicander. The ſubjects, which that poet had undertaken to diſcuſs, were calculated to excite the curioſity of Milton. He was then buſily employed in depicting a new and another ſerpent: more alluring in its aſpect, and more malignant in its purpoſes, than any of that ſinuous brood, which Nicander had deſcribed. His deſcriptions are luxuriant and elegant. They were pearls too precious, our poet thought, to lie for ever buried in the duſt of antiquity. It remained for him to determine, in what place they might be *ſet* to advantage. This, it ſeems, was the place, where the paradiſiacal ſerpent ſhould be taught to wreath his ſpires with the ſame obliquity, that characterized, according to Nicander, one ſpecies of ſerpents. The reſemblance, it may be ſaid, is thus far accidental. Be it ſo. But the oblique movements of Nicander's and of Milton's ſerpent are illuſtrated, in both poets, by a compariſon taken from the ſame ſubject. Their movements are compared to thoſe of a ſhip; rolling from ſide to ſide, as ſudden guſts impel it; and marking by its keel the ſinuoſity of its track.

Amidſt the vaſt variety of objects, which the works of nature and of art preſent, and from which ſimilitudes may be drawn, it cannot be thought a caſual coincidence, that both poets, in their illuſtrations of the ſame ſubject, ſhould have had recourſe to the ſame image; and that image by no means trite or common. Milton was indeed too great a maſter of his art, to acquieſce in ſervile imitations. He, like Virgil, embelliſhed what he borrowed; and, by an artful intertexture of adventitious ornaments, conferred the grace of novelty on that which was not new, and diverted his reader's thoughts from the ſuſpicion of imitation.

MEEN.

To ſuch diſport before her through the field,
From every beaſt; more duteous at her call,
Than at Circean call the herd diſguis'd.
He, bolder now, uncall'd before her ſtood,
But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
His turret creſt, and ſleek enamell'd neck,
Fawning; and lick'd the ground whereon ſhe trod.
His gentle dumb expreſſion turn'd at length
The eye of Eve to mark his play; he, glad
Of her attention gain'd, with ſerpent-tongue

Ver. 516. ——————— *his* tortuous *train*] The unuſual word *tortuous* occurs in Lodge's Looking Glaſſe for London, 1598, ſign. E. 4. b.

" *What tortuous* planets, or maleuolent
" Conſpiring power, &c." TODD.

Ver. 522. *Than at Circean call the herd diſguis'd.*] Alluding to the men turned into beaſts by Circe; Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 45.

——————" pérque *ferarum*
" Agmen *adulantûm* mediâ procedit ab aulâ." HUME.

Ver. 529. ——————— *with ſerpent-tongue* &c.] The following ſpeech of Satan may be pronounced a maſter-piece of flattery. Scevole de St. Marthe, a learned Frenchman of the ſixteenth century, in his *Pædotrophia, ſeu De puerorum educatione*, gives an account of the temptation; in which (as noticed by a learned writer in the Brit. Crit. for Jan. 1798) the ſerpent employs no adulation, but ſpecious argument only, as ſubſervient to his purpoſe: he is deſcribed as

———" non ille ferus, qui ſtridula vibret
" Sibila, tabificóque minax livore tumeſcat;
" Sed, blando ſenſim irrepens per gramina lapſu,
" Arboris infauſtæ ramis fatalibus hæſit
" Arduus, implicito per mille volumina trunco.
" Tum molles aditus, et tempora fraudibus apta,
" Legit; et *humanis* ſic demum *vocibus* inſit."—

Organick, or impulſe of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.
Wonder not, ſovran Miſtreſs, if perhaps
Thou canſt, who art ſole wonder! much leſs arm
Thy looks, the Heaven of mildneſs, with diſdain,
Diſpleas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Inſatiate; I thus ſingle; nor have fear'd
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
Faireſt reſemblance of thy Maker fair,

The ſerpent thus encircles the fatal tree, and addreſſes the woman from it, in the *L'Adamo* of the Cavalier Pona, lib. i. Venet, 1664. And, in Loredano's *Life of Adam*, the tempter is profuſe of adulation, in order to engage the attention of Eve. The ſame may be ſaid of Maſenius's tempter, in his *Sarcotis*, lib. ii. But probably the extravagant admiration of Eve's perſon, expreſſed by the ſerpent in the *Adamo* of Andreini, might ſuggeſt to Milton the thought of this *glozing proem*. See note on v. 606. However, Milton's temptation is ſo artfully conducted, ſo beautifully deſcribed, that it removes all compariſon "as far as from the center thrice to the utmoſt pole." TODD.

Ver. 530. *Organick, or impulſe of vocal air,*] That the Devil moved the ſerpent's tongue, and uſed it as an inſtrument to form that tempting ſpeech he made to Eve, is the opinion of ſome; that he formed a voice by impreſſion of the ſounding air, diſtant from the ſerpent, is that of others: of which Milton has left the curious to their choice. HUME.

Compare the obſervation of Federico Malipiero in his *Eva*, Venet. 1640, p. 58. "Che foſſe ſtato queſto vn ſerpe reale, ouero ſola ſpezie, e ſimolacro di ſerpente, ò pure nè ſimolacro, nè ſpezie, ma il demonio medeſimo, coſi tratto da Mosè queſto nome dall' aſtuzia di tal animale, per non dilungarmi nella diuerſità de' pareri io conuengo con la maggior parte, ch' il diauolo parlaſſe ſotto quella forma, ò pure organizzaſſe la voce a quell' animale, &c." TODD.

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
By gift, and thy celeſtial beauty adore
With raviſhment beheld! there beſt beheld,
Where univerſally admir'd; but here
In this encloſure wild, theſe beaſts among,
Beholders rude, and ſhallow to diſcern
Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who ſees thee? (and what is one?) who ſhould be ſeen
A Goddeſs among Gods, ador'd and ſerv'd
By Angels numberleſs, thy daily train.
So gloz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd:
Into the heart of Eve his words made way,
Though at the voice much marvelling; at length,
Not unamaz'd, ſhe thus in anſwer ſpake.
What may this mean? language of man pronounc'd
By tongue of brute, and human ſenſe expreſs'd?

Ver. 549. *So gloz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd;*
Into the heart of Eve his words made way,] Compare *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 4. And the note there. Milton had here alſo the falſe diſſembler *Comus* in his mind;

" I, under fair pretence of friendly ends,
" And well-plac'd *words of glozing courteſy*
" Baited with reaſons not unplauſible,
" *Wind me into the eaſy-hearted man,*
" And hug him into ſnares."

And it may further be obſerved that, as the Serpent cloſes his conferrence with perſuading Eve " to reach and freely taſte the forbidden fruit," v. 732, the Enchanter, in like manner, offers the Lady his cup with the ſame ſpecious recommendation, " Be wiſe, and taſte," *Com.* v. 813. TODD.

The firſt, at leaſt, of theſe I thought denied
To beaſts; whom God, on their creation-day,
Created mute to all articulate ſound:
The latter I demur; for in their looks
Much reaſon, and in their actions, oft appears.
Thee, Serpent, ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endued;
Redouble then this miracle, and ſay,
How cam'ſt thou ſpeakable of mute, and how
To me ſo friendly grown above the reſt
Of brutal kind, that daily are in ſight?
Say, for ſuch wonder claims attention due.
To whom the guileful Tempter thus replied.
Empreſs of this fair world, reſplendent Eve!
Eaſy to me it is to tell thee all

Ver. 556. ——— *whom God*, on their creation-day,
Created *mute*] This is exactly in the ſtyle of Scripture. "Theſe are the generations of the Heavens and of the Earth *when they were created*; *in the day that the Lord God made* the Earth and the Heavens," *Gen.* ii. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 563. ——— ſpeakable] The word *ſpeakable* is uſed in an active as well as in a paſſive ſenſe, and may ſignify *what can ſpeak* as well as *what can be ſpoken*. Here it is to be underſtood in the former ſenſe; *ſpeakable* or *able to ſpeak*; as *comfortable*, *delectable*, &c. ſignify *able to comfort*, *to delight*. Thus, in Horace, the word *illacrymabilis* is uſed in a paſſive ſignification, *Od.* iv. ix. 26.

——— "ſed omnes *illacrymabiles*
"Urgentur;"

and in an active ſignification, *Od.* ii. xiv. 6.

——— "places *illacrymabilem*
"Plutona tauris." NEWTON.

What thou command'ſt; and right thou ſhouldſt
be obey'd:
I was at firſt as other beaſts that graze
The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
As was my food; nor aught but food diſcern'd
Or ſex, and apprehended nothing high:
Till, on a day roving the field, I chanc'd
A goodly tree far diſtant to behold
Loaden with fruit of faireſt colours mix'd,
Ruddy and gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughs a ſavoury odour blown,
Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my ſenſe
Than ſmell of ſweeteſt fennel, or the teats
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,
Unſuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
To ſatisfy the ſharp deſire I had
Of taſting thoſe fair apples, I reſolv'd
Not to defer; hunger and thirſt at once,
Powerful perſuaders, quicken'd at the ſcent
Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me ſo keen.

Ver. 581. ——— *ſweeteſt* fenel, *or the* teats] Dr. Newton obſerves, that the poet mentions ſuch things as were reputed moſt agreeable to ſerpents. "*Feniculum* anguibus gratiſſimum," Pliny, *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. xix. ch. 9, ſect. 56. They were likewiſe ſuppoſed to ſuck the *teats* of ewes and goats. And Mr. Bowle adds, "I ſerpenti mangiano *finocchi*, pour havere chiara veduta," *Brunetto Latini*, f. 72. See alſo Gelli's *Circe*, tranſl. by Iden, 12mo. 1557. ſign. D. vi. b. "But begynne a lytle to conſyder vs ſnakes, of whom euery one, when the ſprynge of the yeare commyth, perceyuyng our ſkinnes roughe on our backe, for that we laye ſtyll in winter, and heaped under the earth, goeth to eate of *fenell*; the whyche cauſeth vs to caſt our ſo olde ſkynne." TODD.

About the moſſy trunk I wound me ſoon;
For, high from ground, the branches would require
Thy utmoſt reach or Adam's: Round the tree
All other beaſts that ſaw, with like deſire
Longing and envying ſtood, but could not reach.
Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
Tempting ſo nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
I ſpar'd not; for, ſuch pleaſure till that hour,
At feed or fountain, never had I found.
Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree
Of reaſon in my inward powers; and ſpeech
Wanted not long; though to this ſhape retain'd.
Thenceforth to ſpeculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Conſider'd all things viſible in Heaven,
Or Earth, or Middle; all things fair and good:
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,

Ver. 601. ——————— *ſhape* retain'd.] Bentley would have it "*reſtrain'd.*" But the word of exacteſt propriety is *retain'd.* For *retain'd* ſignifies the being kept within ſuch and ſuch bounds in a natural ſtate; *reſtrain'd*, to be kept within them in an unnatural: but the ſerpent's being confined to his own ſhape, was being in his natural ſtate. WARBURTON.

Ver. 605. ——— *or Middle;*] In the air, the element placed between, and, as our author ſays, *ſpun out between*, Heaven and Earth, B. vii. 241. HUME.

Ver. 606. *But all that fair and good in thy divine*
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,

United I beheld; no fair to thine
Equivalent or ſecond! which compell'd
Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worſhip thee of right declar'd
Sovran of creatures, univerſal Dame!

United I beheld; &c.] I preſent to the reader the flattery, with which the Serpent addreſſes Eve, in the *Adamo* of Andreini, p. 52.

" Mirami fiſo ò di beltà compendio,
" Ornamento maggior di tutto il mondo,
" Pompa de la Natura,
" Picciolo Paradiſo,
" A cui s'inchina il tutto;
" Doue ſoletta da l' amico lunge,
" Adamo, hor te ne vai? doue ſon quelle
" Schiere d' Angeli tanti
" Del tuo bel fatti così vaghi amanti?
" O mè felice cento volte, e mille,
" Poi, che m' è dato in ſorte
" Di rimirar con due ſol luci quello,
" Che con tant' occhi à pena mira il Cielo.
" Credi pur ſe del Ciel la gran beltade
" Sotto human velo sè ammantar voleſſe,
" Ch' altro, che 'l tuo bel ſeno
" Non ſarebbe di lei ſtanza ſublime."

See alſo the preceding ſpeech of the Serpent in this book, from v. 532 to v. 549. TODD.

Ver. 612. ———— *univerſal* Dame!] *Dame* conveys a low idea at preſent: But formerly it was an appellation of reſpect and honour, and ſignified *miſtreſs* or *lady;* and was probably derived from the French *dame*, and the Latin *domina*. Univerſal Dame, *Domina Univerſi*. NEWTON.

The word *dame* is not only an appellation of reſpect, in our elder poetry; but alſo in Dryden, and Pope. " Nor has it yet loſt its original brightneſs," in the poetry of our own times. Witneſs the ſpirited addreſs to the ladies, with which Mr. Roſcoe's beautiful tranſlation of Tanſillo's *Nurſe* commences:

So talk'd the ſpirited ſly Snake; and Eve,
Yet more amaz'd, unwary thus replied.
Serpent, thy overpraiſing leaves in doubt
The virtue of that fruit, in thee firſt prov'd:
But ſay, where grows the tree? from hence
how far?
For many are the trees of God that grow
In Paradiſe, and various, yet unknown
To us; in ſuch abundance lies our choice,
As leaves a greater ſtore of fruit untouch'd,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to their proviſion, and more hands
Help to diſburden Nature of her birth.
To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad.
Empreſs, the way is ready, and not long;
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Faſt by a fountain, one ſmall thicket paſt
Of blowing myrrh and balm: if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither ſoon.

" Accompliſh'd *dames*, whoſe ſoft conſenting minds
" The roſy chain of willing Hymen binds!" TODD.

Ver. 613. *So talk'd* &c.] Milton has ſhown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Moſaick hiſtory of the temptation, by the addition of ſome circumſtances of his own invention, than in any other theological part of his poem. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ——— ſpirited] *Spirited* here denotes the " diabolick power active within," v. 95. For Milton's participle is from the Italian *ſpiritare*, to be poſſeſſed with the devil. TODD.

Ver. 618. ——— *trees of God*] A Scripture phraſe, as in *Pſalm* civ. 16. NEWTON.

Lead then, ſaid Eve. He, leading, ſwiftly roll'd
In tangles, and made intricate ſeem ſtraight,
To miſchief ſwift. Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his creſt; as when a wandering fire,
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenſes, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
Which oft, they ſay, ſome evil Spirit attends,
Hovering and blazing with deluſive light,
Miſleads the amaz'd night-wanderer from his way
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool;

Ver. 631. ——————— *He, leading, ſwiftly roll'd*
In tangles,] This is Virgil's "rapit orbes per humum:" But I think Taſſo much exceeds them both, in deſcribing the rolling of a ſerpent, *Gier. Lib.* C. xv. ſt. 48.

"Hor rientra in ſe ſteſſo, hor le nodoſe
"Rote diſtende, e ſe dopo ſe tira." THYER.

Ver. 640. Miſleads *the amaz'd* night-wanderer *from his way*
To bogs *and* mires, *and oft through* pond *or* pool,] Compare *Midſ. N. Dream*, A. ii. S. i. of Puck; who "*miſleads night-wanderers*, laughing at their harm." We may ſuppoſe the traveller in *Comus* to be *miſled* by the deluſive light of the *ignis fatuus*, v. 200. However, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, the delight of Milton in his younger days, was now again in his mind.

"No Goblin, Wood-god, Fairy, Elf, or Fiend,
"Satyr, or other Power that haunts the groves,
"Shall hurt my body, or, by *vain illuſion*,
"*Draw me to wander after idle fires;*

There ſwallow'd up and loſt, from ſuccour far.
So gliſter'd the dire Snake, and into fraud
Led Eve, our credulous mother, to the tree
Of prohibition, root of all our woe;
Which when ſhe ſaw, thus to her guide ſhe ſpake.
Serpent, we might have ſpar'd our coming hither,
Fruitleſs to me, though fruit be here to exceſs,
The credit of whoſe virtue reſt with thee;
Wonderous indeed, if cauſe of ſuch effects.
But of this tree we may not taſte nor touch;

" Or voices calling me in dead of night,
" To make me follow, and ſo tole me on
" *Through mire* and *ſtanding pools, to find my ruin.*"

The ancient ſuperſtition, that ſome evil ſpirit attended the ignis fatuus, is expoſed by Wierus, who alſo explains the real nature of this wandering fire, in his treatiſe *De Præſtigiis Dæmonum*, 1583, lib. i. c. xviii. The paſſage might perhaps ſuggeſt to Milton his fine, philoſophical deſcription. TODD.

Ver. 643. ———— *and into* fraud] *Fraud* ſignifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and deluſion, Virgil, *Æn.* x. 72. " Quis deus in *fraudem*, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 644. ———— *the tree*
Of prohibition.] An Hebraiſm for the prohibited or forbidden tree. NEWTON.

Ver. 648. Fruitleſs *to me, though* fruit *be here to exceſs,*] Beſides the jingle, the ſame word is uſed in a literal and metaphorical ſenſe, as in Bion, *Idyll.* i. 16.

Ἄγριον ἄγριον ἔλκος ἔχει κατὰ μικρὸν Ἄδωνις,
Μείζον δ' ἀεὶ φέρει ποτὶ κάρδιον ἕλκος.

And not unlike is that in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 295.

" Num *capti* potuere *capi?* NEWTON.

God ſo commanded, and left that command
Sole daughter of his voice; the reſt, we live
Law to ourſelves; our reaſon is our law.
To whom the Tempter guilefully replied.
Indeed! hath God then ſaid that of the fruit
Of all theſe garden-trees ye ſhall not eat,
Yet Lords declar'd of all in earth or air?
To whom thus Eve, yet ſinleſs. Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat;
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidſt
The garden, God hath ſaid, Ye ſhall not eat

Ver. 653. *Sole daughter of his voice;*] Another Hebraiſm. *Bath Kol*, the daughter of a voice, is a noted phraſe among the Jews; and they underſtand by it a voice from heaven. And this command is called the *ſole daughter*, as it is the only command that we read of, that was given to our firſt Parents in Paradiſe. See B. iv. 428, and 433. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— the reſt, we live
Law to ourſelves;] The reſt, *as for what remains, in all things elſe.* A Greciſm, and common in Latin. So Virgil, "*cætera* Graius," *Æn.* iii. 594. *We live law to ourſelves:* "Theſe having not the law, are a law unto themſelves," *Rom.* ii. 14. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 656. Indeed! &c.] *Gen.* iii. 1. "*Yea*, hath God ſaid, Ye ſhall not eat of every tree of the garden?" In which our author has followed the Chaldee Paraphraſe interpreting the Hebrew particle, *Indeed.* Is it true that God has forbidden you to eat of the fruits of Paradiſe? as if he had forbidden them to taſte, not of one, but of all the trees; another of Satan's ſly inſinuations. The Hebrew particle, *Yea*, or *Indeed*, plainly ſhows that the ſhort and ſummary account, which Moſes gives of the Serpent's temptation, has reſpect to ſome previous diſcourſe, which could, in all probability, be no other than what Milton has pitched upon. HUME.

Thereof, nor ſhall ye touch it, leſt ye die.
She ſcarce had ſaid, though brief, when now more bold
The Tempter, but with ſhow of zeal and love
To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on; and, as to paſſion mov'd,
Fluctuates diſturb'd, yet comely and in act
Rais'd, as of ſome great matter to begin.
As when of old ſome orator renown'd,
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
Flouriſh'd, ſince mute! to ſome great cauſe addreſs'd,
Stood in himſelf collected; while each part,
Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue;

Ver. 673. *Stood in himſelf collected;*] This beautiful and nervous expreſſion, which Milton has uſed in ſeveral places, was, I fancy, adopted from the Italian *in ſe raccolto*. I do not remember to have met with it in any Engliſh writer before his time.

THYER.

Dryden has adopted the entire phraſe from Milton in his *Theod. and Honor.* v. 97;

"Unus'd to fear, he ſummon'd all his ſoul,
"And *ſtood collected in himſelf*, and whole."

He repeats it in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. iv. S. i. And Pope has copied him, *Iliad* xi. 512.

"But ſtands collected in himſelf, and whole." TODD.

Ibid. ——— ——— ——— *while each* part,
Motion, each act, *won audience ere the tongue;*] Dr. Bentley ſays, that this paſſage has not Milton's character or turn. *Motion*, he thinks, ſhould have *each* before it as well as *part* and *act*. What is *each part* and *each act*, before he had ſpoken a word? He therefore would have it,

Sometimes in highth began, as no delay 675

" Stood in himſelf collected *whole*, *while each*
" Motion, each *air*, won audience ere the tongue."

But *act* is right, and is explained by Milton himſelf, in v. 668, to be what an orator puts himſelf into, before he begins to ſpeak. But I cannot ſo eaſily anſwer the doctor's objection to *motion's* being deſtitute of *each;* nor do I underſtand how any *part* of the orator, conſidered by itſelf and merely as a part, could win audience. I ſuſpect therefore that an *s* in the copy was miſtaken for a comma, and that Milton gave it,

———— ———" while each *part's*
" Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue."

It was the graceful *motion* of *each part* of him, and not the parts themſelves, that *won audience* and attention. If it ſhould be objected, that it is not uſual, with good poets, to leave the genitive caſe thus at the end of a verſe, and put the nominative into the following one; I allow that, though it is not very uſual, yet it is ſometimes done, and Milton himſelf does it, in B. v. 273.

———————" in the *Sun's*
" Bright temple, &c." PEARCE.

Or, ſuppoſe we ſhould read with leſs alteration, than Dr. Bentley propoſes,

" Stood in himſelf collected *whole*, while each
" Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue."

In himſelf collected whole, a manner of expreſſion not unlike that in Horace, " in ſeipſo totus teres atque rotundus, *Sat.* II. vii. 86. But Dr. Greenwood ſays, there is ſo great a beauty in the pauſe being upon *collected*, and the expreſſion, though good in itſelf, is rendered ſo much more nervous by it, that he ſhould be ſorry to have it weakened, as he thinks it would be, by inſerting *whole:* beſides, the ear would be offended by the harſhneſs of *whole* and *while* coming together. So that, notwithſtanding theſe objections, he prefers the common reading to any of the emendations propoſed; and would offer only this ſmall alteration,

———————" while each part,
" Motion, *and* act." NEWTON.

Of preface brooking, through his zeal of right:
So ſtanding, moving, or to highth up grown,
The Tempter, all impaſſion'd, thus began.

I wiſh to defend the whole paſſage, and not to alter a letter of the poet's words. And firſt, I conceive that "each *part's* motion," propoſed by Dr. Pearce, could not be intended by Milton; becauſe *part*, *motion*, and *act*, are three diſtinct things. *Part* here ſignifies the poſition or *ſtation* of the orator, that attention to the *parts* of the body, which Cicero calls "*oratorius ſtatus*," De Orat. lib. i. ſect. 59, and of which he gives a minute deſcription in his Orat. ad Brutum, "*Status* erectus, et celſus, &c." to which the poet alſo plainly adverts, v. 677, "So *ſtanding*." *Motion* denotes the graceful and commanding geſture of the ſpeaker, which Cicero calls "*oratorius motus*," and which the poet again diſtinguiſhes, v. 677, "So ſtanding, *moving*." And *act* means the manner or ſign, ſuch as the waving of the hand, by which the orator wins attention, before he ſpeaks; as in B. x. 458.

——————"who *with hand*
"*Silence*, and with theſe words attention, *won*."

The Italians alſo ſay, "Stava in *atto*, come ſe voleſſe parlarmi, *He looked as if he would ſpeak to me*." Secondly, The omiſſion of *each* before *motion* is of little conſequence, I think; for, if the paſſage be read attentively, the ſenſe is perfectly intelligible, although the idiom indeed varies from common uſage: But this is a circumſtance ſo frequent in Milton, that few perſons will condemn the paſſage, on that account, as "having neither the character nor turn of the poet." TODD.

Ver. 675. *Sometimes in highth began, as no delay*
Of preface brooking, through his zeal of right:] Thus Cicero, in his firſt oration againſt Catiline, "Quouſque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiâ noſtrâ? &c." THYER.

Ver. 678. ——————impaſſion'd,] Spenſer uſes this word, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iii. 43.

"The damzell was full deepe *empaſſioned*."

And again, *F. Q.* iii. xi. 18. CALLANDER.

O ſacred, wiſe, and wiſdom-giving Plant,
Mother of ſcience! now I feel thy power
Within me clear; not only to diſcern
Things in their cauſes, but to trace the ways
Of higheſt agents, deem'd however wiſe.
Queen of this univerſe! do not believe
Thoſe rigid threats of death: ye ſhall not die:
How ſhould you? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge; by the threatener? look on me,
Me, who have touch'd and taſted; yet both live,
And life more perfect have attain'd than Fate
Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot.
Shall that be ſhut to Man, which to the Beaſt
Is open? or will God incenſe his ire
For ſuch a petty treſpaſs? and not praiſe
Rather your dauntleſs virtue, whom the pain
Of death denounc'd, whatever thing death be,

Ver. 685. ——————— *ye ſhall not die:*] *Gen.* iii. 4. "And the ſerpent ſaid unto the woman, ye ſhall not ſurely die." And it is very artfully contrived by Milton to make the ſerpent give an inſtance in himſelf. NEWTON.

Ver. 686. *How ſhould you? by the fruit? it gives you life*
To knowledge; by the threatener? look on me,] In Milton's own editions, the paſſage is thus improperly pointed:

"How ſhould ye? by the fruit? it gives you life
"To knowledge? by the threatener, look on me."

Tickell follows Tonſon's early editions, in ſtill retaining the note of interrogation after *knowledge*, but in ſupplying another after *threatener*. Fenton corrected the errour, and he has been ſince followed. TODD.

Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead
To happier life, knowledge of good and evil;
Of good, how juſt? of evil, if what is evil
Be real, why not known, ſince eaſier ſhunn'd?
God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be juſt;
Not juſt, not God; not fear'd then, nor obey'd:
Your fear itſelf of death removes the fear.
Why then was this forbid? Why, but to awe;
Why, but to keep ye low and ignorant,
His worſhippers? He knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that ſeem ſo clear,
Yet are but dim, ſhall perfectly be then
Open'd and clear'd, and ye ſhall be as Gods,
Knowing both good and evil, as they know.
That ye ſhall be as Gods, ſince I as Man,
Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
I, of brute, human; ye, of human, Gods.

Ver. 702. *Your fear itſelf of death removes the fear.*] Juſtice is inſeparable from the very being and eſſence of God, ſo that could he be unjuſt, he would be no longer God, and then neither to be obeyed nor feared; ſo that the fear of death, which does imply injuſtice in God, deſtroys itſelf, becauſe God can as well ceaſe to be, as to be juſt. A Satanick ſyllogiſm. HUME.

Ver. 704. ——————— *Why, but to awe;*
Why, but to keep ye low &c.] The reader may here notice part of the Serpent's ſpeech to Eve, in the *Adamo* del Cavalier Pona, Venet. 1664.—" Non conoſcete l' *artificio* di chi v' impoſe d' aſtenerui dal pomo: Quaſi pentito Dio di hauerui creati così eccellenti, conoſcendo, *che di poco ſiete inferiori à Lui:* e che quel non molto, che vi manca *per adeguarlo*, può andar ſupplito *dalla virtu rara di queſte pome, ve l' hà vietate*, &c. Lib. i. p. 30. TODD.

So ye ſhall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods; death to be wiſh'd,
Though threaten'd, which no worſe than this can bring.
And what are Gods, that Man may not become
As they, participating God-like food?
The Gods are firſt, and that advantage uſe
On our belief, that all from them proceeds:
I queſtion it; for this fair earth I ſee,
Warm'd by the ſun, producing every kind;
Them, nothing: if they all things, who enclos'd
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
That whoſo eats thereof, forthwith attains
Wiſdom without their leave? and wherein lies
The offence, that Man ſhould thus attain to know?
What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
Impart againſt his will, if all be his?

Ver. 714. ——— *to* put on *Gods;*] The Scripture expreſſion, as in 1 *Cor.* xv. 53. "For this corruptible muſt *put on* incorruption." NEWTON.

Ver. 720. *I queſtion it; for this fair earth I ſee,* &c.] Compare the *Cyclops* of Euripides, v. 331.

Ἡ γῆ δ' ἀνάγκη, κἂν θέλῃ, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ,
Τίκτουσα ποίαν, τἀμὰ πιαίνει βοτά,
Ἃ 'γὼ τινι θύω, πλὴν ἐμοὶ, θεοῖσι δ' ἅ, κ. τ. λ.

STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 727. *What can your knowledge hurt* him, *or this tree Impart againſt* his *will, if all be* his?] Dr. Bentley ſays, that Milton had ſaid *Gods* in all the argument before, and therefore deſigned here,

Or is it envy? and can envy dwell
In heavenly breaſts?—Theſe, theſe, and many more
Cauſes import your need of this fair fruit.
Goddeſs humane, reach then, and freely taſte!
He ended; and his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too eaſy entrance won:
Fix'd on the fruit ſhe gaz'd, which to behold
Might tempt alone; and in her ears the ſound
Yet rung of his perſuaſive words, impregn'd
With reaſon, to her ſeeming, and with truth:
Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the ſmell

" What can your knowledge hurt *them*, or this tree
" Impart againſt *their* will, if all be *theirs*?"

But Milton had ſaid *God* in v. 692, and v. 700: And, I think, he uſes the ſingular number in the very next preceding ſentence, v. 722.

——————————" *who* enclos'd
" Knowledge of good and evil in this tree?"

So that *him* and *his* here refer to *him*, *who enclos'd* &c. PEARCE.

He ſeems to uſe both numbers promiſcuouſly, ſometimes ſpeaking of *God*, ſometimes of *Gods*; and, I think, we may obſerve, that he generally ſpeaks of *Gods*, when the ſentiment would be too horrid, if it was ſpoken of *God*. NEWTON.

Ver. 739. *Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd*
An eager appetite,] This is a circumſtance beautifully added by our author to the Scripture account, in order to make the folly and impiety of Eve appear leſs extravagant and monſtrous. NEWTON.

I ſhould not however attribute beauty to this circumſtance on the ground, on which Dr. Newton has done it. All theſe

So ſavoury of that fruit, which with deſire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taſte,
Solicited her longing eye; yet firſt
Pauſing a while, thus to herſelf ſhe mus'd.
Great are thy virtues, doubtleſs, beſt of fruits,
Though kept from man, and worthy to be admir'd;
Whoſe taſte, too long forborn, at firſt aſſay
Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The tongue not made for ſpeech to ſpeak thy praiſe:
Thy praiſe he alſo, who forbids thy uſe,
Conceals not from us, naming thee the tree
Of knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
Forbids us then to taſte! but his forbidding
Commends thee more, while it infers the good
By thee communicated, and our want:
For good unknown ſure is not had; or, had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
In plain then, what forbids he but to know,

little circumſtances, marking the particular hour of any tranſaction and noting the proceſſion of time, furniſh materials that are intereſting and enlivening; and I would eſtimate them as varying and relieving the general narration and deſcription. It may be obſerved that, in *Paradiſe Regained*, Milton has laid the temptation of the banquet nearly at noon, B. ii. 292.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 750. ——— *he alſo, who forbids*] As if it had not been God who had forbidden; but God was not now in all her thoughts. She afterwards profeſſes herſelf ignorant of him, v. 775. NEWTON.

Forbids us good, forbids us to be wiſe?
Such prohibitions bind not. But, if death
Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we ſhall die!
How dies the Serpent? he hath eaten and lives,
And knows, and ſpeaks, and reaſons, and diſcerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone
Was death invented? or to us denied
This intellectual food, for beaſts reſerv'd?
For beaſts it ſeems: yet that one beaſt which firſt
Hath taſted envies not, but brings with joy
The good befallen him, author unſuſpect,
Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.
What fear I then? rather, what know to fear
Under this ignorance of good and evil,
Of God or death, of law or penalty?
Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
Fair to the eye, inviting to the taſte,
Of virtue to make wiſe: What hinders then
To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?
So ſaying, her raſh hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, ſhe pluck'd, ſhe eat!
Earth felt the wound; and Nature from her ſeat,

Ver. 780. ——————— *in evil hour*] Adam juſtly repeats the expreſſion in ver. 1067. It is Spenſerian. See *Faer. Qu.* iv. iii. 20, vi. xi. 15. TODD.

Ver. 782. ——————— *and Nature from her ſeat,*
Sighing through all her works, gave ſigns of woe,] Compare the *Sarcotis* of Maſenius, lib. ii. p. 110, ed. Barbou;

Sighing through all her works, gave ſigns of woe,
That all was loſt. Back to the thicket ſlunk
The guilty Serpent; and well might; for Eve,
Intent now wholly on her taſte, nought elſe
Regarded; ſuch delight till then, as ſeem'd,
In fruit ſhe never taſted, whether true
Or fancied ſo, through expectation high
Of knowledge; nor was Godhead from her thought.
Greedily ſhe ingorg'd without reſtraint,

where Sarcothea is repreſented reaching forth her hand to pluck the forbidden fruit, but not yet gathering it; a ſimilar prodigy however occurs:

" Obtulit illa manus primùm; ſed dextra retractans
" Sponte redit. *Natura nefas horreſcere viſa,*
" *Pondere tam gravium cæpit titubare malorum.*"

Yet this prodigy is neither ſo affecting, nor ſo poetical in the deſcription, as that of Milton. In Maſenius alſo, after Sarcothea has eaten, a long deſcription follows of the various prodigies which ſucceeded:

——" Mora nulla, *ſolutus Avernus*
" *Exſpuit infandas acies, fractúmque remugit*
" *Divulſâ compage ſolum*, &c."

Twenty more lines are employed in painting the convulſions of earth, ſea, and air, on the occaſion. I need not obſerve to the reader with what conciſeneſs and energy, with what beauty and judgement, Milton's ſcene of *completing the mortal ſin original* is drawn. Virgil, as Addiſon obſerves, has related that the Earth trembled, the Heavens flaſhed with lightnings, and the Nymphs howled on the mountain-tops, when Dido was ruined. But though the reader ſhould ranſack all the volumes of poetry, both ancient and modern, he would never find a paſſage which might be brought in competition with the ſublimity and pathos of Milton's, v. 1000.

And knew not eating death: Satiate at length,
And highten'd as with wine, jocund and boon,
Thus to herſelf ſhe pleaſingly began.

" Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
" In pangs; and Nature gave a ſecond groan;
" Sky lour'd; and, muttering thunder, ſome ſad drops
" Wept at completing of the mortal ſin
" Original." TODD.

Ver. 792. *And knew not eating death:*] It is a Greek phraſe, uſed often by the Latins too. Oppian, *Halieut.* ii. 106.

——— ἀδ' ἐνόησαν ἑὸν σπεύδοντες ὄλεθρον.

They knew not haſtening their death. Eating the fruit which brought death, was eating death, as being virtually contained in it.
RICHARDSON.

Ver. 794. *Thus to herſelf* &c.] As our author had, in the preceding conference betwixt our firſt parents, deſcribed, with the greateſt art and decency, the ſubordination and inferiority of the female character in ſtrength of reaſon and underſtanding; ſo, in this ſoliloquy of Eve's after taſting the forbidden fruit, one may obſerve the ſame judgement, in his varying and adapting it to the condition of her fallen nature. Inſtead of thoſe little defects in her intellectual faculties before the Fall, which were ſufficiently compenſated by her outward charms, and were rather ſoftenings than blemiſhes in her character; we ſee her now running into the greateſt abſurdities, and indulging the wildeſt imaginations. It has been remarked that our poet, in this work, ſeems to court the favour of his female readers very much; yet I cannot help thinking, but that in this place he intended a ſatirical, as well as a moral, hint to the ladies, in making one of Eve's firſt thoughts, after her fatal lapſe, to be, how to get the ſuperiority and maſtery over her huſband. There is, however, I think, a defect in this ſpeech of Eve's, that there is no notice taken of the Serpent in it. Our author very naturally repreſents her, in the firſt tranſports of delight, expreſſing her gratitude to the fruit, which ſhe fancied had wrought ſuch a happy change in her, and next to *experience, her beſt guide:* but how is it poſſible, that ſhe ſhould, in theſe

O ſovran, virtuous, precious of all trees
In Paradiſe! of operation bleſt
To ſapience, hitherto obſcur'd, infam'd,
And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
Created; but henceforth my early care,
Not without ſong, each morning, and due praiſe,
Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden eaſe
Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
Till, dieted by thee, I grow mature
In knowledge, as the Gods, who all things know;
Though others envy what they cannot give:
For, had the gift been theirs, it had not here

rapturous acknowledgments, forget her guide and inſtructer the Serpent, to whom in her then notion of things ſhe muſt think herſelf the moſt indebted? I do not doubt but Milton was ſenſible of this; but, had he made Eve mention the Serpent, he could not have avoided too making her obſerve that he was ſlunk away; which might have given her ſome ſuſpicions, and would conſequently have much altered the ſcene which follows betwixt Adam and her. THYER.

Ver. 795. ——— precious *of all trees*] The poſitive for the ſuperlative; the *moſt precious* of all trees; as Virgil, "Sequimur te, *ſancte* deorum," *Æn.* iv. 576, and Homer, ΔΙΑ θεάων, *Iliad*, v. 381. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 805. *Though others envy what they cannot give;*] She reſolves to eat of the tree, till ſhe equals the Gods in knowledge, *though others envy;* ſhe means the Gods, though for decency's ſake, ſhe names them not. She had ſaid before, ver. 770, that the *beaſt which firſt hath taſted envies not* &c. but *others envy*. She is now arrived to that pitch of impiety, that ſhe attributes *envy* to the Gods, as Satan had taught her, ver. 729; and queſtions whether this tree was their gift, as Satan had likewiſe ſuggeſted, v. 718, &c. Such impreſſion had his doctrines made upon her. NEWTON.

Thus grown. Experience, next, to thee I owe,
Beſt guide; not following thee, I had remain'd
In ignorance; thou open'ſt wiſdom's way,
And giv'ſt acceſs, though ſecret ſhe retire.
And I perhaps am ſecret: Heaven is high,
High, and remote to ſee from thence diſtinct
Each thing on Earth; and other care perhaps
May have diverted from continual watch
Our great Forbidder, ſafe with all his ſpies
About him. But to Adam in what ſort
Shall I appear? ſhall I to him make known

Ver. 811. *And I perhaps am ſecret:*] She queſtions even God's Omniſcience, and flatters herſelf that ſhe is ſtill in ſecret, like other ſinners, who ſay, "The Lord ſhall not ſee, neither ſhall the God of Jacob regard it," *Pſalm* xciv. 7. NEWTON.

Compare alſo this and the following line, with *Job*, xxii. 12, 13, 14. TODD.

Ver. 815. *Our great* Forbidder, ſafe *with all his ſpies* &c.] Dr. Bentley declares *ſafe* to be nonſenſe, and therefore alters the verſe thus;

"Our great *Forbidder's eye* with all his ſpies &c."

But *ſafe* here ſignifies, as in the vulgar phraſes, "I have him *ſafe*," or, "He is *ſafe* aſleep:" Where, not the ſafety of the perſon ſecured or aſleep is meant, but the ſafety of others with reſpect to any danger from him. This is indeed a ſenſe of the word not uſual in poetry; but common ſpeech will juſtify it ſo far, as to make the doctor's emendation unneceſſary. PEARCE.

Ludicrous as the phraſe may ſeem, it appears to me to have been purpoſely introduced by the poet: for the words, SAFE *with all his ſpies about him*, particularly expreſs the contemptuous opinion which the ſpeaker now entertained of God, or rather her affectation of turning into ridicule what once ſhe dreaded. TODD.

As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happineſs with me, or rather not,
But keeps the odds of knowledge in my power
Without copartner? ſo to add what wants
In female ſex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal; and perhaps,

Ver. 818. ——————— *and* give *him to partake* &c.] An ingenious perſon and great admirer of Milton ſays, "that to *give* to do a thing," is, in his opinion, one of the moſt beautiful expreſſions in all the poetical language, as in Homer, *Il.* i. 18.

Ὑμῶν μὲν θεοὶ ΔΟΙΕΝ, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.

Virgil was ſo ſenſible of this charming expreſſion, that he has uſed it in ſeveral paſſages in the very firſt Æneid; as in v. 65.

——— "tibi Divûm pater atque hominum rex
"Et mulcere *dedit* fluctus, &c."

See alſo v. 79, v. 522. I wonder he did not further take notice of the ſame expreſſion in his favourite Milton, in this place, and in B. i. 736. NEWTON.

Ver. 823. ——————— *and perhaps,*
A thing not undeſirable, ſometime
Superiour; for, inferiour, who is free?] There is a very humourous tale in Chaucer, which is alſo verſified by Dryden, wherein the queſtion is propoſed, *What it is that women moſt affect and deſire?* Some ſay wealth, ſome beauty, ſome flattery, ſome in ſhort one thing, and ſome another; but the true anſwer is ſovereignty. And the thought of attaining the ſuperiority over her huſband, is very artfully made one of the firſt that Eve entertains, after her eating of the forbidden fruit: but ſtill her love of Adam, and jealouſy of another Eve, prevail even over that; ſo juſt is the obſervation of Solomon, *Cant.* viii. 6. "*Love is ſtrong as death, jealouſy is cruel as the grave.*" NEWTON.

The poet ridicules this deſire of ſuperiority, in his *Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce*, where he ſays that the pretenſion to it is, "not for any parity of wiſdom, for that were ſomething reaſonable, but out of a *female pride!*" TODD.

A thing not undeſirable, ſometime
Superiour; for, inferiour, who is free?
This may be well: But what if God have ſeen,
And death enſue? then I ſhall be no more!
And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think! Confirm'd then I reſolve,
Adam ſhall ſhare with me in bliſs or woe:
So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
I could endure, without him live no life.
So ſaying, from the tree her ſtep ſhe turn'd;
But firſt low reverence done, as to the Power
That dwelt within, whoſe preſence had infus'd
Into the plant ſciential ſap, deriv'd
From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while,

Ver. 832. *So dear I love him, that with him all deaths*
I could endure, without him live no life.] How much ſtronger and more pathetick is this than that of Horace, *Od.* III. ix. 24.

"Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens." NEWTON.

Ver. 835. *But firſt* low reverence *done, as to the Power*
That dwelt within,] Eve falling into idolatry upon the taſte of the forbidden tree, as the firſt fruit of diſobedience, is finely imagined. RICHARDSON.

There is in this paſſage a reference to the poet's earlier production of *Arcades*, v. 37.

"Whom with *low reverence* I adore as mine." TODD.

Ver. 838. ——————— *Adam the while*, &c.] Andromache is thus deſcribed as amuſing herſelf, and preparing for the return of Hector; not knowing that he was already ſlain by Achilles, *Iliad* xxii. 440. NEWTON.

Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn
Her tresses, and her rural labours crown;
As reapers oft are wont their harvest-queen.
Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd:
Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Misgave him; he the faltering measure felt;
And forth to meet her went, the way she took
That morn when first they parted: by the tree
Of knowledge he must pass; there he her met,
Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand
A bough of fairest fruit, that downy smil'd,

Ver. 839. ——————— *had wove*
Of choicest flowers a garland, &c.] Milton had probably Spenser in mind, *F. Q.* iii. vii. 17.

" Girlands of flowres sometimes for her faire head
" He fine would dight." TODD.

Ver. 845. ——————— divine of] *Foreboding* something ill; a Latin phrase, says doctor Newton, as in Horace, *Od.* III. xxvii. 10. " *Imbrium divina* avis imminentum." But compare Euripides, *Androm.* v. 1075.

Αἰ, αἰ ΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ θυμὸς ὡς τι προσδοκᾷ.

And Virgil, " *præsaga mali* mens," *Æn.* x. 843. See also B. x. 357. " In my heart *divin'd* &c." TODD.

Ver. 846. ——————— *he the faltering measure felt;*] He found his heart kept not true time, he felt the false and intermitting measure; the natural description of our minds foreboding ill, by the unequal beatings of the heart and pulse. HUME.

Ver. 851. ——————— *that downy smil'd,*
New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.] So, in v. 579, " from the boughs a savoury odour blows." But the very words here, as Hume observes, are Virgil's, *Georg.* iv. 415.

New gather'd, and ambrofial fmell diffus'd.
To him fhe haſted; in her face excuſe
Came prologue, and apology too prompt;
Which, with bland words at will, ſhe thus addreſs'd.

Haſt thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my ſtay?
Thee I have miſs'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
Thy preſence; agony of love till now
Not felt, nor ſhall be twice; for never more
Mean I to try, what raſh untried I ſought,
The pain of abſence from thy ſight. But ſtrange
Hath been the cauſe, and wonderful to hear:
This tree is not, as we are told, a tree
Of danger taſted, nor to evil unknown
Opening the way, but of divine effect
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taſte;

——— " et liquidum ambrofiæ diffudit odorem:"

And *that downy ſmil'd*, that covered with ſoft down looked ſweetly, may refer, as he notes, to *Ecl.* ii. 51.

" Ipſe ego cana legam tenerâ *lanugine* mala." TODD.

Ver. 854. ——————— *apology* too *prompt;*] This is Fenton's emendation. It was before, in all the editions, " apology *to* prompt," which Dr. Newton preſumes to have been an errour of the preſs. I follow the emendation, although it is not impoſſible that the poet might intend " *to prompt*" as a continuation of the imagery, drawn from the ſtage:

" Came *prologue*, and apology *to prompt*."

I am ſtrengthened in my opinion by the following paſſage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where the maſkers enter, and Romeo ſays,

" What, ſhall this ſpeech be ſpoke *for our excuſe*,
" Or ſhall we on without *apology?*" TODD.

Ver. 866. ——— *and make them Gods who taſte;*

And hath been taſted ſuch: The ſerpent wiſe,
Or not reſtrain'd as we, or not obeying,
Hath eaten of the fruit; and is become,
Not dead, as we are threaten'd, but thenceforth
Endued with human voice and human ſenſe,
Reaſoning to admiration; and with me
Perſuaſively hath ſo prevail'd, that I
Have alſo taſted, and have alſo found
The effects to correſpond; opener mine eyes,

And hath been taſted ſuch:] See Eve's ſpeech to Adam, in the *Adamo* of Andreini, ed. 1617, p. 74.

" Eccoti Adamo il Pomo.
" Che fai dir? lo guſtai, nè fon già morta.
" Ah, che viuer douraſſi,
" Anzi farſi nel ciel ſimili à Dio;
" Ma pria conuien, che 'l Pomo
" Tutto frà noi ſi guſti,
" Indi poſcia guſtato
" A bel trono di rai trono ſtellato
" Ne condurran gli Angeli lieti à volo." TODD.

Ver. 875. ——————— *opener mine eyes,*
Dim erſt, dilated ſpirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead;] Milton, in the manner of expreſſion, here ſeems pretty plainly to allude to what Thirſis, in Taſſo's *Aminta*, ſays of himſelf, upon his ſeeing Phœbus and the Muſes, A. i. S. ii.

" Sentii mè far di mè ſteſſo maggiore
" Pien di noua virtu, piena di noua
" Deitade." THYER.

The manners here are finely in character. For Eve has eaten the forbidden fruit; and ſhe talks, in conſequence, as one *hightened with wine, jocund and boon*, v. 793. She repeats, with ſimilar volubility and gaiety, the fancied effects of her bold deed, v. 984.

Dim erſt, dilated ſpirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead; which for thee
Chiefly I ſought, without thee can deſpiſe.
For bliſs, as thou haſt part, to me is bliſs;
Tedious, unſhar'd with thee, and odious ſoon.
Thou therefore alſo taſte, that equal lot
May join us, equal joy, as equal love;
Leſt, thou not taſting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
Deity for thee, when Fate will not permit.

Thus Eve with countenance blithe her ſtory told;
But in her cheek diſtemper flushing glow'd.
On the other ſide Adam, ſoon as he heard

——————— " not death, but life
" Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,
" Taſte ſo divine, that what of ſweet before
" Hath touch'd my ſenſe, flat ſeems to this, and harſh."
TODD.

Ver. 888. *On the other ſide Adam, ſoon as he heard* &c.] In reading this verſe, it is abſolutely neceſſary to make a long pauſe, after *Adam;* which gives time, as it were, for the poet, and for the reader alſo, to contemplate or imagine Adam's extreme horrour, before the deſcription of it is entered upon: Or we may ſuppoſe the poet pauſing himſelf, as it were, to conſider in what language he ſhall adequately deſcribe ſuch extreme horrour:

" On the other ſide Adam, ———————
——————— " ſoon as he heard &c."

In ſhort it is a pauſe, which the imagination of the poetical reader will not fail to avail itſelf of, and to turn to good effect. Let us only vary the poſition of the words:

" Adam, on the other ſide, ſoon as he heard &c."

and we ſhall be more ſenſible of the kind of effect, which it is now ſo peculiarly calculated to produce. DUNSTER.

The fatal treſpaſs done by Eve, amaz'd,
Aſtonied ſtood and blank, while horrour chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;
From his ſlack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roſes ſhed:
Speechleſs he ſtood and pale, till thus at length
Firſt to himſelf he inward ſilence broke.
O faireſt of Creation, laſt and beſt
Of all God's works, Creature in whom excell'd

Ver. 890. *Aſtonied ſtood and blank, while horrour chill*
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;] So Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 120.

" Obſtupuere animi, gelidúſque per ima cucurrit
" Oſſa tremor."

And *Æn.* xii. 951. " Illi ſolvuntur frigore membra." HUME.

See alſo L. Bryſkett's *Mourning Muſe of Theſtylis*, v. 151.

" A trembling *chilly* cold
" *Ran through their veins.*" TODD.

Ver. 892. *From his* ſlack hand *the garland wreath'd for Eve*
Down dropt,] Mr. Bowle cites Propertius, lib. iv. *Eleg.* ix. " Pocula mi *digitos* inter *eccidere remiſſos.*" And Perſius, *Sat.* iii. 100.

——— " *tremor* inter vina *ſubit*, calidúmque *triental*
" *Excutit è manibus.*"

But it is probable, that Milton had in mind the circumſtance of Cymoent, in Spenſer, who, hearing of the misfortune of her ſon, *flings away* the garlands which ſhe had been making, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 30. Each poet, Mr. Church obſerves, has judiciouſly made choice of *that action* which was moſt ſuitable to the different circumſtances and characters of their actors. Adam *drops* the garland. TODD.

Ver. 897. ——————— *Creature in whom excell'd* &c.] The Cavalier Pona, in his *Adamo*, thus laments the fall of Eve: " Pouera Eua! &c. mirata da tutti i celeſti lumi, per lo miracolo delle coſe create:—ricca de' teſori della bellezza, dell' amabilita,

Whatever can to ſight or thought be form'd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or ſweet!
How art thou loſt! how on a ſudden loſt,
Defac'd, deflower'd, and now to death devote!
Rather, how haſt thou yielded to tranſgreſs
The ſtrict forbiddance, how to violate
The ſacred fruit forbidd'n! Some curſed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
Certain my reſolution is to die:
How can I live without thee! how forego
Thy ſweet converſe, and love ſo dearly join'd,
To live again in theſe wild woods forlorn!

della gratia: Et hora in vilipendio, e in obbrobrio preſſo tutte le creature per colpa della tua colpa!" p. 41. TODD.

Ver. 901. ——————— to death devote!] "*Devota morti* pectora liberæ," Hor. *Od.* iv. xiv. 18. TODD.

Ver. 908. *How can I live without thee!*] Like the affectionate words of Admetus to Alceſtis: Euripides, *Alceſt.* v. 277.

Σοῦ γὰρ φθιμένης, οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν εἴην·
Ἐν σοὶ δ' ἔσμεν καὶ ζῆν, καὶ μή. TODD.

Ver. 909. *Thy ſweet converſe, and love ſo dearly join'd,*] That is, as Dr. Pearce rightly underſtands it, "the ſweet converſe and love OF THEE ſo dearly join'd *to me*." This is a common way of ſpeaking in Milton; and the reader may ſee more inſtances of it in B. iv. 129, and B. viii. 423. The ſenſe of this verſe is again found in v. 970:

——————— "link'd in love ſo dear." NEWTON.

Ver. 910. *To live again in theſe wild woods forlorn!*] How vaſtly expreſſive are theſe words of Adam's tenderneſs and affection for Eve; as they imply, that the mere imagination of loſing her had already converted the ſweets of Paradiſe into the horrours of a deſolate wilderneſs. THYER.

Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loſs of thee
Would never from my heart: no, no! I feel
The link of Nature draw me: fleſh of fleſh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy ſtate
Mine never ſhall be parted, bliſs or woe.
So having ſaid, as one from ſad diſmay

Ver. 913. ——————— *no, no! I feel*
The link of nature draw me:] The Scripture account of Eve's formation might poſſibly ſuggeſt this thought to Milton; and yet I cannot help thinking but that he might probably have in view Plato's notion of the firſt human creatures being androgynous, that is, male and female in the ſame perſon, and that the affection now ſubſiſting betwixt the different ſexes is only a ſecret tendency or *drawing* of Nature towards her firſt ſtate. THYER.

I cannot agree with Mr. Thyer, reſpecting Milton's alluding here to Plato: For Milton himſelf has ridiculed this opinion, in his *Tetrachordon:* "It might be doubted why he ſaith, *In the image of God created he him*, not them, as well as *male and female* them; eſpecially ſince that image might be common to them both, but *male and female* could not, however the Jews fable, and pleaſe themſelves with the accidental concurrence of Plato's wit, as if Man at firſt had been created *Hermaphrodite:* but then it muſt have been, male and female created he him." It is the holy Book, to which Milton alludes; and he again expreſſes the thought, v. 955.

"So forcible within my heart I feel
"The *bond of Nature draw* me to my own,
"My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
"Our ſtate cannot be ſever'd; we are one,
"One fleſh; to loſe thee were to loſe myſelf." TODD.

Ver. 916. *Mine never ſhall be parted, bliſs or woe.*] So, in the Hiſt. of Kynge Arthur, fol. bl. l. s. d. the affection of Sir Tryſtram and La belle Iſond is thus deſcribed, ſign. N. ii. "Their loue neuer departed for weale nor wo." TODD.

Recomforted, and after thoughts diſturb'd
Submitting to what ſeem'd remedileſs,
Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.
Bold deed thou haſt preſum'd, adventurous Eve,
And peril great provok'd, who thus haſt dar'd,
Had it been only coveting to eye
That ſacred fruit, ſacred to abſtinence,
Much more to taſte it under ban to touch.
But paſt who can recall, or done undo?
Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate; yet ſo
Perhaps thou ſhalt not die, perhaps the fact
Is not ſo heinous now, foretaſted fruit,

Ver. 920. *Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.*] He had till now been ſpeaking to himſelf; now his ſpeech turns to her, but not with violence, not with noiſe and rage: 'tis a deep conſiderate melancholy. The line cannot but be pronounced, as it ought, ſlowly, gravely. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 922. ——————— *who thus* haſt *dar'd,*] So it is in the firſt edition; but in the ſecond, by miſtake, it is printed "*hath* dar'd;" and that is followed by ſome others. NEWTON.

Ver. 928. *Perhaps thou ſhalt not die,* &c.] How juſt a picture does Milton here give us of the natural imbecillity of the human mind, and its aptneſs to be warped into falſe judgements and reaſonings by paſſion and inclination! Adam had but juſt condemned the action of Eve in eating the forbidden fruit; and yet, drawn by his fondneſs for her, immediately ſummons all the force of his reaſon to prove what ſhe had done to be right. This may probably appear a fault to ſuperficial readers; but all intelligent ones will, I dare ſay, look upon it as a proof of our author's exquiſite knowledge of human nature. Reaſon is but too often little better than a ſlave ready at the beck of the will to dreſs up, in plauſible colours, any opinions that our intereſt or reſentment have made agreeable to us. THYER.

Profan'd firſt by the ſerpent, by him firſt
Made common, and unhallow'd, ere our taſte;
Nor yet on him found deadly; yet he lives;
Lives, as thou ſaidſt, and gains to live, as Man,
Higher degree of life; inducement ſtrong
To us, as likely taſting to attain
Proportional aſcent; which cannot be
But to be Gods, or Angels, demi-Gods.
Nor can I think that God, Creator wiſe,
Though threatening, will in earneſt ſo deſtroy
Us his prime creatures, dignified ſo high,
Set over all his works; which in our fall,
For us created, needs with us muſt fail,
Dependant made; ſo God ſhall uncreate,
Be fruſtrate, do, undo, and labour loſe;
Not well conceiv'd of God, who, though his power
Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
Us to aboliſh, leſt the Adverſary
Triumph, and ſay; " Fickle their ſtate whom God
" Moſt favours; who can pleaſe him long? Me firſt
" He ruin'd, now Mankind; whom will he next?"
Matter of ſcorn, not to be given the Foe.
However I with thee have fix'd my lot,

Ver. 947. ——————— *leſt the Adverſary*
Triumph, and ſay;] From *Deut.* xxxii. 27. " Leſt the adverſaries ſhould ſay." GILLIES.

Certain to undergo like doom: If death
Conſort with thee, death is to me as life;
So forcible within my heart I feel
The bond of Nature draw me to my own;
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our ſtate cannot be ſever'd; we are one,
One fleſh; to loſe thee were to loſe myſelf.
So Adam; and thus Eve to him replied.
O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illuſtrious evidence, example high!
Engaging me to emulate; but, ſhort
Of thy perfection, how ſhall I attain,
Adam, from whoſe dear ſide I boaſt me ſprung,
And gladly of our union hear thee ſpeak,
One heart, one ſoul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee reſolv'd,
Rather than death, or aught than death more dread,
Shall ſeparate us, link'd in love ſo dear,
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of taſting this fair fruit;

Ver. 965. *Adam,*] The note of interrogation, which is here found in all editions, ought not to have place. It muſt, I believe, be carried on to the end of ver. 976, not to interrupt the thoughts which here crowd in upon the mind of Eve, and ſucceed each other with a kind of turbulent rapidity after here addreſſing her huſband by name. It is very common with Milton thus to open his ſpeeches with a long ſucceſſion of ideas ariſing rapidly out of the firſt addreſs of the Speaker, and precluding for a time any thing poſitive being ſaid with reſpect to the point intended to be ſpoken to. DUNSTER.

Whoſe virtue (for of good ſtill good proceeds,
Direct, or by occaſion,) hath preſented
This happy trial of thy love, which elſe
So eminently never had been known?
Were it I thought death menac'd would enſue
This my attempt, I would ſuſtain alone
The worſt, and not perſuade thee, rather die
Deſerted, than oblige thee with a fact
Pernicious to thy peace; chiefly aſſur'd
Remarkably ſo late of thy ſo true,
So faithful, love unequall'd: but I feel
Far otherwiſe the event; not death, but life
Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,
Taſte ſo divine, that what of ſweet before
Hath touch'd my ſenſe, flat ſeems to this, and harſh.

Ver. 978. ——————— *I would ſuſtain alone*
The worſt, and not perſuade thee, rather die
Deſerted, than oblige *thee with a fact*
Pernicious to thy peace;] We have followed the punctuation of the firſt edition, as the ſenſe requires, which is plainly this, "If I thought the death that was threatened would be the conſequence of this my attempt, I would ſuffer the worſt alone, and not endeavour to perſuade thee, I would rather die by myſelf forſaken of thee, than oblige thee with a fact pernicious to thy peace." *Oblige* is uſed here in the large ſenſe of the Latin word *obligo*, which ſignifies not only *to bind*, but *to render obnoxious to guilt or puniſhment*. We have in Cicero, "Cum populum Romanum ſcelere *obligâſſes*," Orat. pro domo ſua, viii. And, "Sæpe etiam legum judiciorúmque pœnis *obligantur*," Fin. i. 14. And in Horace, *Od.* II. viii. 5.

——————"Sed tu ſimul *obligâſti*
"Perfidum votis caput." NEWTON.

On my experience, Adam, freely taſte,
And fear of death deliver to the winds.
So ſaying, ſhe embrac'd him, and for joy
Tenderly wept; much won, that he his love
Had ſo ennobled, as of choice to incur
Divine diſpleaſure for her ſake, or death.
In recompence (for ſuch compliance bad
Such recompence beſt merits) from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
With liberal hand: he ſcrupled not to eat,
Againſt his better knowledge; not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with female charm.

Ver. 989. *And fear of death deliver to the winds.*] Dr. Newton obſerves, that "To deliver to the winds," is a ſort of proverbial expreſſion, as in Hor. *Od.* I. xxvi. 1.

——————"Triſtitiam et metus
"*Tradam* protervis in mare Creticum
"Portare *ventis.*"

Hume alſo notices the probable origin of the proverb from Homer, *Odyſſ.* viii. 409.

——— ἀτὰρ τὸ φέροισ' ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι. TODD.

Ver. 998. ——————————— *not deceiv'd,*
But fondly overcome with female charm.] According to the hiſtorical relation of Moſes, he did not plead for himſelf, that he was deceived (the excuſe of Eve cheated by the Serpent) but rather enticed and perſuaded by her. "The woman whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me of the tree, and I did eat," *Gen.* iii. 12. Whence St. Paul, "Adam was *not deceived;* but the woman, being deceived, was in the tranſgreſſion," 1 *Tim.* ii. 14. *Overcome with female charms*, which the holy page ſtyles, "hearkening unto the voice of his wife," *Gen.* iii. 17.

"Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?"
Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 412. HUME.

Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs; and Nature gave a ſecond groan;
Sky lour'd; and, muttering thunder, ſome ſad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal ſin
Original: while Adam took no thought,

Ver. 1000. *Earth trembled* &c. ——————
——— *while Adam took no thought,*] It could not be expected, that Adam ſhould take any more notice of this ſecond groan of Nature, when he had eaten of the forbidden fruit, than Eve did of the firſt, after her tranſgreſſion; becauſe they are repreſented *as with new wine intoxicated both.* But I wonder that this accurate and careful writer hath not hinted ſomething at Adam's thoughts upon the firſt convulſion, when he was in a ſtate of innocence, calmneſs, and retirement. *As Nature through all her works gave ſigns of woe,* he could not but be very ſenſible of it: and, if ſo, he muſt certainly be ſtartled at a phænomenon ſo ſtrange and new. This I think deſerved in ſome meaſure to be accounted for; and it might perhaps have been properly introduced as a reaſon for awakening his apprehenſions, and making *his heart, divine of ſomething ill, miſgive him,* as well as *her ſo long delay'd return,* v. 844; or it might have been cleared up by ſome other ſuch lucky turn of thought, as our author is maſter of upon moſt occaſions. GREENWOOD.

Here are two ſources of the ſublime; the prodigy ſtrikes with horrour, the vaſtneſs of the idea overwhelms with aſtoniſhment. In this place an unſkilful poet would probably have brought on ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, and ſo violent an earthquake, as muſt have overturned the mountains, and ſet the woods on fire. But Milton, with better judgement, makes the alarm of that deep and awful kind, which cannot expreſs itſelf in any other way, than by an inward and univerſal trembling: a ſenſation more affecting to the fancy than thoſe paſſions are, which vent themſelves in outrageous behaviour; even as that ſorrow is the moſt pathetick, which deprives one of the power of lamentation, and diſcovers itſelf only by fainting and groans. Beſides, if

Eating his fill; nor Eve to iterate
Her former treſpaſs fear'd, the more to ſooth
Him with her lov'd ſociety; that now,
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They ſwim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings,
Wherewith to ſcorn the earth: But that falſe fruit
Far other operation firſt diſplay'd,
Carnal deſire inflaming; he on Eve
Began to caſt laſcivious eyes; ſhe him

this convulſion of the univerſe had been more violent, the unhappy offenders muſt have been confounded and terrified; which would not have ſuited the poet's purpoſe. For he tells us, and indeed the circumſtances that follow (which, by the by, are exquiſitely contrived) do all ſuppoſe, that our firſt parents were ſo intent on gratifying their impious appetite, that they took no notice of the prodigies, which accompanied the tranſgreſſion. BEATTIE.

Ver. 1002. *Sky lour'd; and*, muttering thunder,] It is not meant, that thunder alſo lour'd: *muttering thunder* is in the abſolutive caſe abſolute. It was not loud claps of thunder, but *muttering* thunder, melancholy and mournful. NEWTON.

Is not *muttering* here the participle of an active verb, and *thunder* the accuſative caſe following it? *To mutter thunder*, is an expreſſion, I conceive, not unlikely for Milton to uſe. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1009. ——————— *and fancy that they feel*
Divinity within them breeding wings,
Wherewith to ſcorn the earth:] In the *Adamo* of Andreini, Eve perſuades Adam, that, after they have eaten the fruit, angels ſhall guide their *flight* to the ſtars. See the note on ver. 866. And, in Loredano's *Life of Adam*, Eve thus addreſſes her huſband: "See here an argument of the love I bear you!—I bring thee *in this apple the* DIVINITY that God denyed us!" Eng. edit. p. 33. TODD.

As wantonly repaid; in luſt they burn:
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.
Eve, now I ſee thou art exact of taſte,
And elegant, of ſapience no ſmall part;
Since to each meaning ſavour we apply,
And palate call judicious; I the praiſe
Yield thee, ſo well this day thou haſt purvey'd.
Much pleaſure we have loſt, while we abſtain'd
From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
True reliſh, taſting; if ſuch pleaſure be
In things to us forbidd'n, it might be wiſh'd,
For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
But come, ſo well refreſh'd, now let us play,
As meet is, after ſuch delicious fare;
For never did thy beauty, ſince the day

Ver. 1019. ——————— favour] Since we uſe the word *favour* in both ſenſes, and apply it to the underſtanding as well as to the palate; as in Cicero, "Nec enim ſequitur, ut cui cor *ſapiat*, ei non *ſapiat* palatum," "*De Fin.* ii. 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 1029. *For never* &c.] Milton had in mind the converſation between Paris and Helen in the third *Iliad*, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on Mount Ida. And, as Pope obſerves, it is with wonderful judgement and decency that Milton has uſed that exceptionable paſſage of the dalliance, ardour, and enjoyment, of Jupiter and Juno. That which ſeems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes a moral leſſon in Milton; ſince he makes that laſcivious rage of the paſſion the immediate effect of the ſin of our firſt parents, after the Fall. NEWTON.

A modern critick has thought proper to treat this paſſage with much contempt, pretending that it wants the rapturous glow of enthuſiaſtick paſſion, although it exhibits, as he facetiouſly pre-

I ſaw thee firſt and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all perfections, ſo inflame my ſenſe
With ardour to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever; bounty of this virtuous tree!
So ſaid he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent; well underſtood
Of Eve, whoſe eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he ſeis'd; and to a ſhady bank,
Thick over-head with verdant roof imbower'd,
He led her nothing loth; flowers were the couch,
Panſies, and violets, and aſphodel,
And hyacinth; Earth's freſheſt ſofteſt lap.
There they their fill of love and love's diſport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the ſeal,

tends, the force of pointed and logical argument. See Knight's *Principles of Taſte*, 2d. edit. 1805, pp. 122, 123. Deſirous as this learned writer may be to depreciate the deſcription before us, he certainly ought not to have omitted the acknowledgement of its propriety, inaſmuch as it is carefully chaſtened throughout, and ſeeks not to excite an improper idea. TODD.

Ver. 1034. *So ſaid he, and forbore not glance or toy* &c.] What a fine contraſt does this deſcription of the amorous follies of our firſt parents after the Fall make to that lovely picture of the ſame paſſion in its ſtate of innocence, in the preceding book, v. 510.

——————"To the nuptial bower
"I led her bluſhing like the morn: All Heaven
"And happy conſtellations &c!" THYER.

Ver. 1042. *There they their* fill of love *and love's diſport*
Took *largely*,] From *Proverbs*, vii. 18. "Come, let us *take* our *fill of love*." TODD.

The ſolace of their ſin; till dewy ſleep
Oppreſs'd them, wearied with their amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About their ſpirits had play'd, and inmoſt powers
Made err, was now exhal'd; and groſſer ſleep,
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conſcious dreams
Incumber'd, now had left them; up they roſe
As from unreſt; and, each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their minds
How darken'd; innocence, that as a veil
Had ſhadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone;
Juſt confidence, and native righteouſneſs,

Ver. 1049. ——————— *and groſſer ſleep,*
Bred of unkindly fumes,] How unlike the ſleep mentioned in B. v. 3.

———————" for his ſleep
" Was aery-light, from pure digeſtion bred,
" And temperate vapours bland."

The ſleep of ſin is nothing like the ſleep of innocence.
NEWTON.

Be it remembered, that the effect of eating the fruit was a kind of *intoxication*, ver. 1008. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1052. ——————— *unreſt*;] A ſubſtantive adopted perhaps from Spenſer, *Shep. Cal.* June, 79.

" Enough is mee to paint out my *unreſt*."

See alſo P. L. B. xi. 174. TODD.

And honour, from about them, naked left
To guilty Shame; he cover'd, but his robe
Uncover'd more. So roſe the Danite ſtrong,
Herculean Samſon, from the harlot-lap
Of Philiſtéan Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his ſtrength, They deſtitute and bare
Of all their virtue: Silent, and in face
Confounded, long they ſat, as ſtrucken mute:

Ver. 1057. ——————— *naked left*
To guilty Shame; &c.] This paſſage has occaſioned ſome perplexity and confuſion, by its having been wrong pointed in almoſt all the editions. After *Shame* there is no ſtop even in Milton's own editions, and there ſhould have been a ſemicolon at leaſt. And then follows *he cover'd*, for *Shame* (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) is here made a perſon, (as again in ver. 1097.) And this Shame is *he* who *cover'd* Adam and Eve with his robe; but this *robe* of his *uncover'd* them *more:* that is, though they were clothed with ſhame, yet they thereby more diſcovered their nakedneſs. Milton ſpeaks in the ſame manner in *Samſon. Agon.* v. 841, 842.

" In vain thou ſtriv'ſt to cover ſhame with ſhame,
" Or by evaſions thy crime uncover'ſt more."

In the author's ſecond edition, after the words *Uncover'd more*, there is a full ſtop, and a new ſentence beginning thus, *So roſe the Danite ſtrong*, &c. with the punctuation which we have followed; from whence it evidently appears, that this is the true conſtruction; that, as Samſon wak'd ſhorn of his ſtrength, They wak'd deſtitute and bare of all their virtue: And then begins another ſentence, *Silent, and in face confounded, long they ſat.* I ſuppoſe it need not be obſerved that Samſon is called the *Danite*, as being of the tribe of *Dan.* NEWTON.

Milton was probably in this place inſtructed by the Pſalmiſt: " Let mine adverſaries be *clothed with ſhame;* and let them cover themſelves with their own confuſion, as with a cloke." *Pſalm*, cix. 28. BOWLE.

Ver. 1064. ——————— *ſtrucken mute:*] It is not

Till Adam, though not leſs than Eve abaſh'd,
At length gave utterance to theſe words conſtrain'd.

O Eve, in evil hour thou didſt give ear
To that falſe worm, of whomſoever taught
To counterfeit Man's voice; true in our fall,
Falſe in our promis'd riſing; ſince our eyes
Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and evil; good loſt, and evil got;
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know;
Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
Of innocence, of faith, of purity,
Our wonted ornaments now ſoil'd and ſtain'd,
And in our faces evident the ſigns
Of foul concupiſcence; whence evil ſtore;
Even ſhame, the laſt of evils; of the firſt
Be ſure then.—How ſhall I behold the face
Henceforth of God or Angel, erſt with joy
And rapture ſo oft beheld? Thoſe heavenly ſhapes
Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze

improbable, that this vulgar expreſſion may owe its origin to the ſtories, in Romances, of the effect of the magical wand.
STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 1068. *To that* falſe worm,] *Worm* is the Teutonick word for *ſerpent*, according to Dr. Johnſon, who notices alſo the exiſtence of *blind-worm* and *ſlow-worm* in our language. In Shakſpeare, *worm* is often uſed for *ſerpent*. See many inſtances in the note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Steevens's Shakſpeare, vol. xii. 675, edit. 1793. And compare Sir David Lyndſay's *Monarchie*, where the tempter, having perſuaded Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit, is called "the *fals ſerpent*," edit. Chalmers, vol. ii. p. 363. TODD.

Inſufferably bright. O! might I here
In ſolitude live ſavage; in ſome glade
Obſcur'd, where higheſt woods, impenetrable
To ſtar or ſun-light, ſpread their umbrage broad
And brown as evening: Cover me, ye Pines!
Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
Hide me, where I may never ſee them more!—
But let us now, as in bad plight, deviſe

Ver. 1086. ——— *where higheſt* woods, impenetrable
To ſtar *or ſun-light, ſpread their umbrage broad*
And brown *as evening:*] The expreſſion of *woods impenetrable to ſtar* ſeems to be copied from Statius, *Theb.* x. 85.

——— " nulli penetrabilis aſtro
" Lucus iners." NEWTON.

So Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 7.

" Whoſe lofty trees, yclad with ſummer's pride,
" Did ſpread ſo wide, they heaven's light did hide:
" Not pearceable with power of any ſtar."

It may be obſerved alſo, that Milton here uſes the word *brown* as he had before done *imbrown'd*, in imitation of the Italians.
THYER.

Ver. 1088. ——— *Cover me, ye Pines!*
Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
Hide me, &c.] This beautifully poetical addreſs of Adam to the Pines and Cedars to ſhelter him from the face of God and Angel, muſt be referred to Scripture; and we cannot doubt but Milton here has taken his general idea from the deſcription of the end of the world, and the day of wrath, in the Revelations: " And the kings of the earth and the great men—hid themſelves in the dens and the rocks of the mountains; and ſaid to the mountains and rocks, *Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne*, and from the wrath of the lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come, and *who ſhall be able to ſtand?*" Rev. vi. 13, 14, 15. DUNSTER.

What beſt may for the preſent ſerve to hide
The parts of each from other, that ſeem moſt
To ſhame obnoxious, and unſeemlieſt ſeen;
Some tree, whoſe broad ſmooth leaves together ſew'd,
And girded on our loins, may cover round
Thoſe middle parts; that this new comer, Shame,
There ſit not, and reproach us as unclean.
So counſell'd he, and both together went
Into the thickeſt wood; there ſoon they choſe
The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renown'd,

Ver. 1092. *What beſt may* for *the preſent ſerve to hide*
The parts of each from *other*,] Theſe lines are thus miſprinted in the ſecond edition;

" What beſt may *from* the preſent ſerve to hide
" The parts of each *for* other."

And, as to the matter of printing, it muſt be ſaid, that of Milton's two editions the firſt is in general more correct than the ſecond; though Mr. Richardſon, and others, have cried up the ſecond as the only genuine and ſtandard edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 1101. *The fig-tree* &c.] It has not been obſerved by the commentators, that this *fig-tree*, a good article for ſuch a romantick hiſtory, is deſcribed by Quintus Curtius, *Hiſt. Alexandr.* lib. ix. c. i. p. 679, lib. vi. c. v. p. 395, edit. Amſtel. 1684. I muſt add one or two more circumſtances. Milton was a ſtudent in Botany. He took his deſcription of this multifarious tree from the account of it in Gerard's *Herball*, many of whoſe expreſſions he literally repeats. See Gerard, lib. iii. c. 135, p. 1513, edit. 1633. " *Of the arched Indian Fig-Tree.* The ends [of the branches] hang downe and touch the ground, where they *take roote* and grow in ſuch ſort, that thoſe *twigs* become great trees: and theſe, being grown vp vnto the like greatneſſe, do caſt their branches or twiggy tendrels vnto the earth, where they likewiſe take hold and roote; by meanes whereof it cometh to paſſe, that

But ſuch as at this day, to Indians known, In Malabar or Decan ſpreads her arms

of one tree is made a great wood or deſart of trees, which the *Indians* do vſe for *couerture* againſt the *extreme heate of the ſun.*— Some likewiſe uſe them for pleaſure, cutting downe by a direct line a long *walke*, or as it were a vault, through the *thickeſt* part, from which alſo they *cut* certaine *loop-holes* or windowes in ſome places, to the end to receiue thereby the freſh *coole* aire that entreth thereat, as alſo for light that they may *ſee their catted* that *feed* thereby, &c. From which vault or cloſe *walke* doth rebound ſuch an admirable *echo* or anſwering voice, &c. The firſt or *mother* of this wood, is hard to be known from the *children*, &c."—In the margin is a repreſentation of the vegetable arcade. Milton has alſo availed himſelf of Gerard's reference to Pliny. The *Amazonian targe* is from Pliny, as quoted by Gerard. Jonſon, however, had been before-hand with Milton, in introducing this tree into Engliſh poetry. See his *Neptune's Triumph*, firſt acted in 1624, vol. vi. p. 159.

——————" The goodly bole being got
" To certaine cubits hight, from every ſide
" The boughs decline; which, taking root afreſh,
" Spring up new boles, and theſe ſpring new, and newer;
" Till the whole tree become a porticus,
" Or arched arbour, able to receive
" A numerous troup, &c."

Gerard's work was firſt publiſhed in 1597. T. WARTON.

Mr. Bowle cites the ſame paſſage from Gerard, and adds the following illuſtration from Terry's *Voyage to Eaſt-India*, edit. 1655, pp. 103, 104. " There is one very great and fair tree growing in that ſoil, of ſpecial obſervation; out of whoſe *branches* or great *arms* grow little ſprigs downwards, till they *take root* (as they will certainly do if they be let alone); and, taking root, at length prove ſtrong ſupporters unto thoſe large branches that yield them. Whence it comes to paſs, that thoſe trees in time (their ſtrong and far-extended arms being in many places thus ſupported) grow to a very great height, and extend themſelves to ſuch an incredible breadth, they growing round every way, as that hundreds of

Branching ſo broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd ſhade
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between:

them may ſhade themſelves under one of them at any time; the rather, becauſe theſe, as all other trees in thoſe ſouthern parts [of which is *Malabar*] of Eaſt-India, ſtill keep on their green coats.—Some of their trees have *leaves* upon them *broad as bucklers.*"

I may refer the reader alſo to Duret's *Hiſtoire admirable des plantes et herbes eſmerueillables et miraculeuſes en nature*, Paris, 1605, p. 124. "*Du Figuier d' Inde;*" and to Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Lond. 1794, vol. iii. p. 168, &c. "*Of the great Banian-Tree*, the nobleſt natural temple in the world." But I will not omit to mention what is related of the *magnitude* of this tree, in Ives's *Journey from Perſia*, Lond. 1773, p. 199. "Under its ſhade and branches Mr. Doidge computed that ten thouſand men might ſtand without incommoding themſelves, allowing ſix men to a yard ſquare." I have now to ſubjoin a very valuable comment on this paſſage of the poet, communicated to me by a learned and ingenious Traveller, well-known to the literary world, Eyles Irwin, Eſq. "A more poetical or juſt deſcription of the *Bhur* or *Banian* tree cannot be imagined, than what has come from the pencil of the ſublime bard. But, from the Portugueſe name of this tree, he would ſeem to have been led into a miſtake, and to confound it with the plantain, which, in all probability, from the magnitude and flexibility of its leaves, was applied by our firſt parents to the ſame purpoſe, as the Puliar caſt now uſe it on the coaſt of *Malabar*. From the fruit, which reſembles a fig in appearance, though not eatable, the firſt diſcoverers of India called the tree the *Figo;* as the ſervice to which it is uſually conſecrated, induced the Engliſh to give it the appellation of *Banian*, or *ſacred*. Its leaves are the ſmalleſt of the foreſt-kind, and not *broad as Amazonian targe*. While it becomes the duty of a traveller to correct the deſcriptive paſſages of poetry, the true lovers of the divine art will agree with him, that it would have been an irre-

There oft the Indian herdſman, ſhunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his paſturing herds
At loop-holes cut through thickeſt ſhade: Thoſe leaves
They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe;
And, with what ſkill they had, together ſew'd,
To gird their waiſt; vain covering, if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded ſhame! O, how unlike
To that firſt naked glory! Such of late
Columbus found the American, ſo girt
With feather'd cincture; naked elſe, and wild
Among the trees on iſles and woody ſhores.
Thus fenc'd, and, as they thought, their ſhame in part
Cover'd, but not at reſt or eaſe of mind,
They ſat them down to weep; nor only tears
Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worſe within
Began to riſe, high paſſions, anger, hate,
Miſtruſt, ſuſpicion, diſcord; and ſhook ſore
Their inward ſtate of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now toſt and turbulent:
For Underſtanding rul'd not, and the Will
Heard not her lore; both in ſubjection now
To ſenſual Appetite, who from beneath
Uſurping over ſovran Reaſon claim'd

parable loſs to the world, if the fancy of Milton in the picture of the *Bhur*, had been reſtrained by the local knowledge of his annotator." TODD.

Ver. 1128. ———— both *in ſubjection*] Fenton reads "*but* in ſubjection." TODD.

Superiour ſway: From thus diſtemper'd breaſt,
Adam, eſtrang'd in look and alter'd ſtyle,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd.
Would thou hadſt hearken'd to my words, and ſtaid
With me, as I beſought thee, when that ſtrange
Deſire of wandering, this unhappy morn,
I know not whence poſſeſs'd thee; we had then
Remain'd ſtill happy; not, as now, deſpoil'd
Of all our good; ſham'd, naked, miſerable!
Let none henceforth ſeek needleſs cauſe to approve
The faith they owe; when earneſtly they ſeek
Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.
To whom, ſoon mov'd with touch of blame, thus Eve.

Ver. 1134. *Would thou hadſt hearken'd to my words,* &c.] There is great ſimplicity of expreſſion throughout this and the next ſpeech; and we may compare Neſtor's remark to Agamemnon, *Il.* ix. 108.

Οὔτι καθ' ἡμέτερον γε νόον· μάλα γάρ τοι ἔγωγε
Πόλλ' ἀπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ κ. τ. λ.

And the poet's obſervation alſo on Patroclus having diſregarded the advice of Achilles, *Il.* xvi. 686.

——— εἰ δὲ ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο φύλαξεν,
Ἦτ' ἂν ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα κακὴν μέλανος θανάτοιο.

STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 1140. *Let none henceforth ſeek needleſs cauſe to approve The faith they owe;*] As Eve had done, when ſhe ſaid, v. 335.

"And what is faith, love, virtue, unaſſay'd, &c."

NEWTON.

What words have paſs'd thy lips, Adam ſevere!
Imput'ſt thou that to my default, or will
Of wandering, as thou call'ſt it, which who knows
But might as ill have happen'd thou being by,
Or to thyſelf perhaps? Hadſt thou been there,
Or here the attempt, thou couldſt not have diſcern'd
Fraud in the Serpent, ſpeaking as he ſpake;
No ground of enmity between us known,
Why he ſhould mean me ill, or ſeek to harm.
Was I to have never parted from thy ſide?
As good have grown there ſtill a lifeleſs rib.
Being as I am, why didſt not thou, the head,
Command me abſolutely not to go,
Going into ſuch danger, as thou ſaidſt?
Too facile then, thou didſt not much gainſay;
Nay, didſt permit, approve, and fair diſmiſs.
Hadſt thou been firm and fix'd in thy diſſent,
Neither had I tranſgreſs'd, nor thou with me.

To whom, then firſt incens'd, Adam replied.
Is this the love, is this the recompence

Ver. 1144. *What words have paſs'd thy lips, Adam ſevere!*] In imitation of Homer, *Il.* xiv. 83.

Ἀτρεΐδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων ; THYER.

Ver. 1162. *To whom, then firſt incens'd, Adam replied.*] As Adam is now firſt angry, his ſpeech is abrupt and his ſentences broken. "*Is this* the *love*," Dr. Bentley reads, "Is this *thy* love, is this the recompence of mine to thee," of my love to thee, which was "expreſs'd immutable when thou wert loſt?" NEWTON.

Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve! expreſs'd
Immutable, when thou wert loſt, not I;
Who might have liv'd, and joy'd immortal bliſs,
Yet willingly choſe rather death with thee?
And am I now upbraided as the cauſe
Of thy tranſgreſſing? Not enough ſevere,
It ſeems, in thy reſtraint: What could I more?
I warn'd thee, I admoniſh'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking enemy
That lay in wait; beyond this, had been force;
And force upon free will hath here no place.
But confidence then bore thee on; ſecure
Either to meet no danger, or to find
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I alſo err'd, in overmuch admiring
What ſeem'd in thee ſo perfect, that I thought

Ver. 1166. *Who might have liv'd, and joy'd immortal bliſs, Yet willingly choſe rather death with thee?*] Compare the converſation of Alceſtis with Admetus, in which there is a ſimilar ſentiment, applied by the affectionate wife; who reſolves to die, in order to ſave her huſband. Euripides, *Alceſt.* v. 282.

Ἐγὼ σε προσβεύσασα, κἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
Ψυχῆς καταςήσασα φῶς τόδ' εἰσορᾶν,
Θνήσκω, παρὸν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν,
Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχεῖν Θεσσαλῶν, ὃν ἤθελον,
Καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι.
Οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσα σου κ. τ. λ.

STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 1170. —— *in* thy *reſtraint:*] So it is in the early editions. In Tonſon's of 1711, it is "in *my* reſtraint," which Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley, have improperly followed. Dr. Newton reſtored the genuine reading. TODD.

No evil durſt attempt thee; but I rue
The errour now, which is become my crime,
And thou the accuſer. Thus it ſhall befall
Him, who, to worth in women overtruſting,
Lets her will rule: reſtraint ſhe will not brook;
And, left to herſelf, if evil thence enſue,
She firſt his weak indulgence will accuſe.

Thus they in mutual accuſation ſpent
The fruitleſs hours, but neither ſelf-condemning;
And of their vain contéſt appear'd no end.

Ver. 1183. ——————— *in* women *overtruſting*,] Dr. Bentley reads *woman*, and I ſhould rather prefer it on account of what follows, "*her* will, *ſhe* will not brook, left to *herſelf* &c." though *women* may be juſtified, ſuch a tranſition from the plural to the ſingular number being not uncommon in the beſt authors, as in Terence, *Eun.* II. i. 10.

"Dii boni quid hoc morbi eſt? adeon' *homines* immutarier
"Ex amore, ut non cognoſcas *eundem* eſſe?" NEWTON.

Ver. 1185. ——————— *if evil thence enſue*, &c.] Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 283.

———————"Nihil eſt audacius illis
"Deprenſis; iram atque animos à crimine ſumunt."
HUME.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

THE

TENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Man's tranſgreſſion known, the guardian-Angels forſake Paradiſe, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved; God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He ſends his Son to judge the tranſgreſſours; who deſcends and gives ſentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reaſcends. Sin and Death, ſitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wonderous ſympathy feeling the ſucceſs of Satan in this new world, and the ſin by Man there committed, reſolve to ſit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan their ſire up to the place of Man: To make the way eaſier from Hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad high-way or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan firſt made; then, preparing for Earth, they meet him, proud of his ſucceſs, returning to Hell; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full aſſembly relates with boaſting his ſucceſs againſt Man; inſtead of applauſe is entertained with a general hiſs by all his audience, transformed with himſelf alſo ſuddenly into ſerpents, according to his doom given in Paradiſe; then, deluded with a ſhew of the forbidden tree ſpringing up before them, they, greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew duſt and bitter aſhes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretels the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but, for the preſent, commands his Angels to make ſeveral alterations in the Heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails, rejects the condolement of Eve; ſhe perſiſts, and at length appeaſes him: then, to evade the curſe likely to fall on their offspring, propoſes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not; but, conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promiſe made them, that her ſeed ſhould be revenged on the Serpent; and exhorts her with him to ſeek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and ſupplication.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

MEAN while the heinous and deſpiteful act
Of Satan, done in Paradiſe; and how
He, in the ſerpent, had perverted Eve,
Her huſband ſhe, to taſte the fatal fruit,
Was known in Heaven; for what can 'ſcape the eye
Of God all-ſeeing, or deceive his heart
Omniſcient? who, in all things wiſe and juſt,
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with ſtrength entire and free will arm'd,

Ver. 9. ——————————— *arm'd,*] Mr. Dunſter is extremely anxious to remove any punctuation after *arm'd*, and to place a comma after *complete*, in alluſion to the phraſe of *arm'd complete* as a common expreſſion for "armed from head to foot," which is exhibited in Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, ver. 491. But I ſee no reaſon for ſuch adaptation of the phraſe in this place. The poet's own punctuation after *arm'd*, is not to be remov'd; as *complete* may be ſuppoſed to refer to St. Paul's aſſertion to his converts, when he exhorts them to ſtand firm in the Chriſtian faith, "Ye are *complete* in him which is the head of all principality and power." TODD.

Ver. 9. *Of* Man, ————————————

Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.
For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd,
The high injunction, not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,
Incurr'd (what could they less?) the penalty;
And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
Up into Heaven from Paradise in haste
The angelick guards ascended, mute, and sad,
For Man; for of his state by this they knew,
Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen
Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
From Earth arriv'd at Heaven-gate, displeas'd
All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet, mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliss.

For still they *knew*,] *Man* collectively is the antecedent to the plural relative *they*, v. 12, as in *Gen.* i. 26. "God said, Let us make *Man* in our image, and let *them* have dominion, &c." HEYLIN.

Ver. 16. *And*, manifold *in sin, deserv'd to fall.*] Every sin is *complicated* in some degree: And the Divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up *several sins* as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit; namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, &c.; so that, for such complicated guilt, he *deserved to fall* from his happy state in Paradise. NEWTON.

Ver. 23. ——— *dim sadness did not spare*
That time celestial visages, yet, mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliss.] What a just and noble idea does Milton here give us of the blessedness of a bene-

About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
The ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befel: They towards the throne ſupreme,
Accountable, made haſte, to make appear,
With righteous plea, their utmoſt vigilance,
And eaſily approv'd; when the Moſt High
Eternal Father, from his ſecret cloud,
Amidſt in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

Aſſembled Angels, and ye Powers return'd
From unſucceſsful charge; be not diſmay'd,
Nor troubled at theſe tidings from the earth,
Which your ſincereſt care could not prevent;
Foretold ſo lately what would come to paſs,
When firſt this tempter croſs'd the gulf from Hell.

volent temper; and how proper, at the ſame time, to obviate the objection that might be made, of ſadneſs dwelling in heavenly Spirits! THYER.

Here *pity* is made to prevent their *ſadneſs* from violating their bliſs: But the latter paſſion is ſo far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it. If you read *(mix'd with pity)* in a parentheſis, this croſs reaſoning will be avoided. WARBURTON.

Milton, no doubt, intended this conſtruction; only the comma after *yet* remained to be ſupplied. Such omiſſions in the original punctuation are not uncommon. Dr. Newton remarks, that it is plain that Milton conceived ſadneſs *mix'd with pity* to be more conſiſtent with heavenly bliſs, than ſadneſs without that compaſſionate temper: And Mr. Bowle cites, from Spenſer's *Daphnaida*, the following lines:

"For heavenly ſpirits have compaſſion
"On mortal men, and rue their miſerie." TODD.

I told ye then he ſhould prevail, and ſpeed
On his bad errand; Man ſhould be ſeduc'd,
And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
Againſt his Maker; no decree of mine
Concurring to neceſſitate his fall,
Or touch with lighteſt moment of impúlſe
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even ſcale. But fallen he is; and now
What reſts, but that the mortal ſentence paſs
On his tranſgreſſion,—death denounc'd that day?
Which he preſumes already vain and void,
Becauſe not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By ſome immediate ſtroke; but ſoon ſhall find
Forbearance no acquittance, ere day end.

Ver. 40. *I told ye then* &c.] See B. iii. 86—96. NEWTON.

Ver. 42. ——————— *believing lies*
Againſt his Maker;] Such as Satan had ſuggeſted; that all things did not proceed from God, that God kept the forbidden fruit from them out of envy, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 45. ——————————— *moment*] The ſame metaphor as in B. vi. 239, where ſee the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 51. *Becauſe not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,*
By ſome immediate ſtroke;] So, in *Eccleſ.* viii. 11. "Becauſe ſentence againſt an evil work is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the heart of the ſons of men is fully ſet in them to do evil." TODD.

Ver. 53. *Forbearance no acquittance,*] Theſe proverbial expreſſions are very improper any where in an epick poem; but much more when they are made to proceed from the mouth of God himſelf. NEWTON.

Juſtice ſhall not return as bounty ſcorn'd.
But whom ſend I to judge them? whom but thee,
Vicegerent Son? To thee I have transferr'd
All judgement, whether in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell.
Eaſy it may be ſeen that I intend
Mercy colleague with juſtice, ſending thee
Man's friend, his Mediator, his deſign'd
Both ranſom and Redeemer voluntary,
And deſtin'd Man himſelf to judge Man fallen.
So ſpake the Father; and, unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity: He full
Reſplendent all his Father manifeſt

Ver. 56. ——— *To thee I have transferr'd*
All judgement,] From *John* v. 22. "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Son." HUME.

Ver. 58. *Eaſy it* may *be ſeen*] I follow Dr. Newton in printing it thus after the firſt edition. In the ſecond, and others, it is "*might* be ſeen;" which is not ſo perſpicuous. TODD.

Ver. 59. *Mercy colleague with juſtice*,] According to *Pſalm* lxxxv. 10. "Mercy and truth are met together, righteouſneſs and peace have kiſs'd each other." NEWTON.

Ver. 62. *And deſtin'd Man* himſelf *to judge Man fallen*.] See *John* v. 27. Dr. Bentley reads *thyſelf*; but *himſelf* is full as well or better. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet confirms the old reading, by thus interpreting: "Deſtin'd [to become] *Man himſelf*, i. e. even Man." So, in *Matt.* vi. 4. "Thy *Father* which ſeeth in ſecret, *himſelf* ſhall reward thee openly," i. e. even the Father. TODD.

Expreſs'd, and thus divinely anſwer'd mild.
Father Eternal, thine is to decree;
Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will
Supreme; that thou in me, thy Son belov'd,
May'ſt ever reſt well pleas'd. I go to judge
On earth theſe thy tranſgreſſours; but thou know'ſt,
Whoever judg'd, the worſt on me muſt light,
When time ſhall be; for ſo I undertook
Before thee; and, not repenting, this obtain
Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
On me deriv'd; yet I ſhall temper ſo
Juſtice with mercy, as may illuſtrate moſt
Them fully ſatisfied, and thee appeaſe.
Attendance none ſhall need, nor train, where none

Ver. 68. *Father Eternal, thine is to decree;*
Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will] The form is claſſical, as in Euripides, *Ion.* v. 1020.

——— σὸν λέγειν, τολμᾷν δ' ἐμὸν,

but the ſpirit of the phraſe is ſcriptural; *John* iv. 34. "My meat is to do *the will of* HIM *that ſent me.*" TODD.

Ver. 74. ——— *for ſo I undertook*] See B. iii. 236, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 77. ——— *I ſhall* temper *ſo*
Juſtice with mercy,] Compare the fine ſentiment in Shakſpeare's *Merchant of Venice*, A. iv. S. i.

—— "earthly power doth then ſhow *likeſt God's*,
"When mercy *ſeaſons* juſtice." TODD.

Ver. 80. *Attendance none ſhall need,*] This is either an elliptical way of ſpeaking for *I ſhall need no attendance;* or rather the

Are to behold the judgement, but the judg'd,
Thoſe two; the third beſt abſent is condemn'd,
Convict by flight, and rebel to all law:
Conviction to the ſerpent none belongs.
Thus ſaying, from his radiant ſeat he roſe
Of high collateral glory: Him Thrones, and Powers,
Princedoms, and Dominations miniſtrant,
Accompanied to Heaven-gate; from whence
Eden, and all the coaſt, in proſpect lay.
Down he deſcended ſtraight; the ſpeed of Gods
Time counts not, though with ſwifteſt minutes wing'd.

word *need*, though commonly uſed as a verb active, is here uſed as a verb neuter, and means *no attendance will be wanting;* and ſo it is uſed in B. iii. 340.

" Then thou thy regal ſcepter ſhalt lay by,
" For regal ſcepter then no more ſhall *need*,
" God ſhall be all in all." NEWTON.

Ver. 84. *Conviction to the ſerpent none belongs.*] No proof is needful againſt the ſerpent, compelled by Satan to be the ignorant inſtrument of his malice againſt mankind; now mute, and unable to anſwer for himſelf. HUME.

Ver. 85. ——— *from his* radiant *ſeat he roſe*
Of high collateral *glory:*] So, in Shakſpeare, *All's Well that ends Well*, A. i. S. i.

" In his bright *radiance* and *collateral* light
" Muſt I be comforted, not in his ſphere." STEEVENS.

Ver. 90. ——— *the ſpeed of Gods*
Time counts not,] So Cowley, *Davideis*, B. i. of an Angel's flight:

" Slow Time admires, and knows not what to call
" The *motion*, having no *account* ſo *ſmall*." BOWLE.

Now was the ſun in weſtern cadence low
From noon, and gentle airs, due at their hour,
To fan the earth now wak'd, and uſher in
The evening cool; when he, from wrath more cool,
Came the mild Judge, and Interceſſour both,
To ſentence Man: The voice of God they heard
Now walking in the garden, by ſoft winds
Brought to their ears, while day declin'd; they heard,
And from his preſence hid themſelves among
The thickeſt trees, both man and wife; till God,
Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.
Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet
My coming ſeen far off? I miſs thee here,
Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with ſolitude,

Ver. 92. *Now was the ſun in weſtern cadence low*
From noon, &c.] This beautiful deſcription is founded upon this verſe: "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of the Lord God, amongſt the trees of the garden," *Gen.* iii. 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 94. *To* fan *the earth now wak'd, and* uſher *in* &c.] See my note on *Par. L.* B. v. 6. where "Aurora's *uſher* with his windy *fan*" is cited from Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*. And P. Fletcher might have been here alſo in Milton's view, *Purp. Iſl.* 1633, C. viii. ſt. 1.

"When *cooler ayres gently* 'gan to blow,
"And *fanne* the fields, &c." TODD.

Ver. 103. *Where art thou, Adam*, &c.] See *Gen.* iii. 9, &c. It is curious to obſerve how the poet paraphraſes and enlarges upon the divine hiſtorian. NEWTON.

Where obvious duty ere while appear'd unfought:
Or come I leſs conſpicuous, or what change
Abſents thee, or what chance detains?—Come forth!
He came; and with him Eve, more loth, though firſt
To offend; diſcountenanc'd both, and diſcompos'd;
Love was not in their looks, either to God,
Or to each other; but apparent guilt,
And ſhame, and perturbation, and deſpair,
Anger, and obſtinacy, and hate, and guile.
Whence Adam, faltering long, thus anſwer'd brief.
I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
Afraid, being naked, hid myſelf. To whom
The gracious Judge without revile replied.
My voice thou oft haſt heard, and haſt not fear'd,
But ſtill rejoic'd; how is it now become
So dreadful to thee? That thou art naked, who
Hath told thee? Haſt thou eaten of the tree,
Whereof I gave thee charge thou ſhouldſt not eat?
To whom thus Adam ſore beſet replied.
O Heaven! in evil ſtrait this day I ſtand

Ver. 125. *O Heaven! in evil ſtrait this day I ſtand* &c.] Nothing ſhows Milton's judgement more than keeping to the very words of Scripture, as far as poſſible, in the preceding conference

Before my Judge; either to undergo
Myſelf the total crime, or to accuſe
My other ſelf, the partner of my life;
Whoſe failing, while her faith to me remains,
I ſhould conceal, and not expoſe to blame
By my complaint: but ſtrict neceſſity
Subdues me, and calamitous conſtraint;
Leſt on my head both ſin and puniſhment,
However inſupportable, be all
Devolv'd; though ſhould I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldſt eaſily detect what I conceal.—
This Woman, whom thou mad'ſt to be my help,
And gav'ſt me as thy perfect gift, ſo good,

between God and Adam: but the poet thought himſelf here obliged to deviate from his rule of adhering cloſely to the ſacred text, in order to keep up ſome dignity in Adam, by putting an apology into his mouth for the accuſation that was to follow.

STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 137. *This woman*, &c.] Milton ſtill preſerves all that is Scripture, though he intermixes other things which were likely enough to have been ſaid and done. Adam ſpeaks of Eve much in the ſame ſtrain as he had done before to the Angel, B. viii. 549.

——————— "what ſhe wills to do or ſay
"Seems wiſeſt, &c."

And his unwillingneſs to accuſe his wife, and yet the neceſſity of doing it, are finely imagined. NEWTON.

Ver. 138. ——————————— *ſo good,*
So fit, ſo acceptable, ſo divine,] A preciſely ſimilar phraſeology occurs in Shakſpeare's firſt part of *K. Hen. VI.* where Somerſet, contending with Richard Plantagenet, characteriſes the truth of his cauſe

So fit, ſo acceptable, ſo divine,
That from her hand I could ſuſpect no ill,
And what ſhe did, whatever in itſelf,
Her doing ſeem'd to juſtify the deed;
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
To whom the Sovran Preſence thus replied.
Was ſhe thy God, that her thou didſt obey
Before his voice? or was ſhe made thy guide,
Superiour, or but equal, that to her
Thou didſt reſign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein God ſet thee above her made of thee,
And for thee, whoſe perfection far excell'd
Hers in all real dignity? Adorn'd

——————— " ſo well apparell'd,
" So clear, ſo ſhining, and ſo evident." DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *Was ſhe thy God* ——?] An expoſtulation ſuggeſted perhaps by Scripture, as Mr. Stillingfleet alſo notes. See *Gen.* xxx. 2, and 11 *Kings*, v. 7. TODD.

Ver. 151. ——————— *Adorn'd*
She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
Thy love, not thy ſubjection;] Dr. Newton obſerves, that this is the ſame ſentiment as the Angel had inculcated, B. viii. 568, &c.; and that, in other parts of his work, Milton ſeems to have been a ſtrenuous advocate for keeping up the authority of the huſband. I ſubjoin, from the poet's *Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce*, another pointed obſervation, as a ſtriking proof how determined he had been, from his firſt *having a wife, to rule a wife!* —"What an injury it is after wedlock, &c. to be contended with, in point of houſe-rule, *who ſhall be the head;* not for any parity of wiſdom, for that were ſomething reaſonable, but out of a female pride! I ſuffer not, ſaith St. Paul, the woman to uſurp authority over the man. *If the Apoſtle could not ſuffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can?*"—This was written very ſoon after his firſt marriage. TODD.

She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
Thy love, not thy ſubjection; and her gifts
Were ſuch, as under government well ſeem'd;
Unſeemly to bear rule; which was thy part
And perſon, hadſt thou known thyſelf aright.
So having ſaid, he thus to Eve in few.
Say, Woman, what is this which thou haſt done?

Ver. 155. ——————— *thy* part
And perſon,] A pure Latiniſm. The *perſonæ dramatis*. So Cicero *pro Muren.* c. 2. "Has *partes* lenitatis et miſericordiæ, quas me Natura ipſa docuit, ſemper ago libenter; illam verò gravitatis, ſeveritatis, *perſonam* non appetivi." Milton, in his *Hiſt. of Eng.* p. 37, edit. Toland, uſes the word thus: "If it were an honour to that *perſon* which he ſuſtained."

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 157. ——————— *he thus to Eve* in few.] *Words* are here underſtood; an ellipſis very common both in the Greek and Latin writers. LORD MONBODDO.

It was alſo not unuſual with our own writers. Thus Shakſpeare, *K. H.* IV. P. ii. A. i. S. i.

"*In few;* his death, whoſe ſpirit lent a fire, &c."

And Warner, *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 40.

"*In few;* the warres are full of woes."

And even in proſe: "*In few;* if a veſtall virgine in time of gentiliſme &c." See A Decacordon of ten Quodlibetical Queſtions &c. 1602, p. 238. TODD.

Ver. 158. The queſtion in this, and the reply in verſe 162, are taken, as Hume and Dr. Newton have obſerved, from *Gen.* iii. 13. While Milton, however, in the anſwer of Eve keeps exactly cloſe to the words of Scripture, in deſcribing her manner of ſpeaking, he has moſt ably and judiciouſly thrown in, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, ſome highly appropriate poetick decorations; which have an infinitely better effect than any enlargement of her brief acknowledgement of her guilt would have had. TODD.

To whom ſad Eve, with ſhame nigh overwhelm'd,
Confeſſing ſoon, yet not before her Judge
Bold or loquacious, thus abaſh'd replied.
The Serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.
Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To judgement he proceeded on the accus'd
Serpent, though brute; unable to transfer
The guilt on him, who made him inſtrument
Of miſchief, and polluted from the end
Of his creation; juſtly then accurs'd,
As vitiated in nature: More to know
Concern'd not Man, (ſince he no further knew)
Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at laſt
To Satan firſt in ſin his doom applied,
Though in myſterious terms, judg'd as then beſt:
And on the Serpent thus his curſe let fall.
Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art accurs'd

Ver. 169. ——————— *More to know*
Concern'd not Man, (ſince he no further knew)] This is badly expreſſed. The meaning is, As Man was not to be let into the myſteries of the Redemption at this time, it did not concern him to know that the ſerpent was but the inſtrument of the Devil. When Milton wrote this, I fancy he had it not then in his thoughts to make Michael reveal to Adam, in the laſt book, the doctrine of Redemption; or, if he did intend it, he forgot that a theological comment on thoſe words in *Geneſis* would ill agree with what was to follow. WARBURTON.

Ver. 175. *Becauſe thou haſt done this*, &c.] See *Gen.* iii. 14, 15. Milton was certainly here more in the right than ever in adhering religiouſly to Scripture, though he has thereby ſpoiled the

Above all cattle, each beaſt of the field;
Upon thy belly groveling thou ſhalt go,
And duſt ſhalt eat all the days of thy life.
Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her ſeed;
Her ſeed ſhall bruiſe thy head, thou bruiſe his heel.
So ſpake this oracle, then verified

harmony of his verſe. He thought, without doubt, that, to mix any thing of his own, would be a violation of decency, and a profanation, like that of Uzzah's putting forth his hand to the ark of God. And the ſentence is very well explained by him, that it was pronounced immediately upon the ſerpent as *made the inſtrument of miſchief and vitiated in nature*, but is to be *applied* immediately *to Satan*, the old Serpent, *though in myſterious terms:* And as the author explains how the ſentence was to be underſtood before he relates it, ſo he ſhows afterwards how it was fulfilled.

NEWTON.

But Milton throughout his poem, where the Divine Perſons are the ſpeakers, is only ſtudious that his language ſhould be made, by being founded on Scripture, as appropriate as poſſible, without giving himſelf any concern about the harmony of the verſe, which he ſeems really ſtudious to avoid, from a ſort of reverential awe and chaſtened fear of appearing to attempt decoration of language, where it cannot ſerve to elevate the ideas, and therefore is peculiarly unappropriate and unſeemly. DUNSTER.

Ver. 182. ——— *oracle, then verified*
When Jeſus, Son of Mary, &c.] Here is a manifeſt indication, that, when Milton wrote this paſſage, he thought *Paradiſe* was chiefly *regained* at our Saviour's reſurrection. This would have been a copious and ſublime ſubject for a ſecond poem. The wonders, then to be deſcribed, would have erected even an ordinary poet's genius; and, in epiſodes, he might have introduced his conception, birth, miracles, and all the hiſtory of his adminiſtration, while on earth. And I much grieve, that, inſtead of

When Jeſus, Son of Mary, ſecond Eve,
Saw Satan fall, like lightning, down from Heaven,
Prince of the air; then, riſing from his grave,
Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumph'd
In open ſhow; and, with aſcenſion bright,
Captivity led captive through the air,
The realm itſelf of Satan, long uſurp'd;
Whom he ſhall tread at laſt under our feet;
Even he, who now foretold his fatal bruiſe;
And to the Woman thus his ſentence turn'd.
Thy ſorrow I will greatly multiply

this, he ſhould chooſe for the argument of his Paradiſe Regained the fourth chapter of Luke, *the temptation in the wilderneſs;* a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epick poem on. In that work he has amplified his ſcanty materials to a ſurpriſing dignity; but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, without the expected applauſe. BENTLEY.

Ver. 184. *Saw Satan fall, like lightning,* &c.] In this ſpeech are many alluſions to Scripture, which Hume and Dr. Newton have noticed; as particularly to *Luke* x. 18, in ver. 184; to *Epheſ.* ii. 2, in calling Satan *Prince of the air;* to *Col.* ii. 15, in ver. 186; to *Pſalm* lxviii. 18, and *Epheſ.* iv. 8, in the two following verſes; and to *Rom.* xvi. 20, in ver. 190. Poſſibly by *the realm of Satan,* in v. 189, the poet alludes alſo to *Epheſ.* vi. 12, where the miniſters of this kingdom are expreſsly mentioned: "the Principalities, the Powers, the Rulers of the darkneſs of this world, the *wicked Spirits* [as the Greek is rendered in the margin] in high places." The opinion that the air was *ruled by devils,* ſeems to have obtained alſo among the Jewiſh and Heathen writers. See more on this ſubject, in Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy,* part i. ſect. 2, ſubſect. 2. TODD.

Ver. 192. *And to the Woman* &c.] Milton is exact in reporting the ſentences pronounced on our firſt parents. See *Gen.* iii. 16, 17, 18, 19. NEWTON.

By thy conception; children thou ſhalt bring
In ſorrow forth; and to thy huſband's will
Thine ſhall ſubmit; he over thee ſhall rule.
On Adam laſt thus judgement he pronounc'd.
Becauſe thou haſt hearken'd to the voice of thy wife,
And eaten of the tree, concerning which
I charg'd thee, ſaying, Thou ſhalt not eat thereof:
Curs'd is the ground for thy ſake; thou in ſorrow
Shalt eat thereof, all the days of thy life;
Thorns alſo and thiſtles it ſhall bring thee forth
Unbid; and thou ſhalt eat the herb of the field;
In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread,
Till thou return unto the ground; for thou
Out of the ground waſt taken, know thy birth,
For duſt thou art, and ſhalt to duſt return.
So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour ſent;
And the inſtant ſtroke of death, denounc'd that day,
Remov'd far off; then, pitying how they ſtood
Before him naked to the air, that now
Muſt ſuffer change, diſdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of ſervant to aſſume;
As when he waſh'd his ſervants feet; ſo now,
As father of his family, he clad

Ver. 214. ——— *the form of ſervant to aſſume;*] As in *Phil.* ii. 7. "But made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant." *As when he waſh'd his ſervants feet,* John xiii. 5. HUME.

Their nakedneſs with ſkins of beaſts, or ſlain,
Or as the ſnake with youthful coat repaid;
And thought not much to clothe his enemies:
Nor he their outward only with the ſkins
Of beaſts, but inward nakedneſs, much more

Ver. 216. ——————— *he clad*
Their nakedneſs with ſkins of beaſts,] "Unto Adam alſo, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of ſkins, and clothed them," *Gen.* iii. 21. And Milton, we ſee, underſtands it literally, though it is ſufficient if it was done by the divine providence and direction. But ſome commentators torment themſelves, and the text, by aſking how Adam and Eve came by the ſkins of beaſts; and therefore our author adds they were *either ſlain*, but he does not ſay whether by one another, or for ſacrifice, or for food; *or they ſhed their coats like ſnakes, and were repaid with new ones*, a notion which we may preſume he borrowed from ſome commentator rather than advanc'd of himſelf. It ſeems too odd and extravagant to be a fancy of his own, but he might introduce it out of vanity to ſhow his reading. Pliny indeed mentions ſome leſſer creatures ſhedding their ſkins in the manner of ſnakes, but that is hardly authority ſufficient for ſuch a notion as this. NEWTON.

Ver. 219. *And thought not much to clothe his enemies:*] Dr. Bentley ſays that this line is certainly of the editor's manufacture, and quite ſuperfluous; because it divides what is naturally connected, and changes the ſentiments, from a *family* under a gracious *father*, to the condition of *enemies*. But I don't ſee that it divides any natural connexion: and, as for changing the ſentiments, it does it to a beauty, not to a fault: for it ſhows more goodneſs in a man to clothe his enemy, than only one of his family. Milton ſeems to have had in his thoughts what St. Paul ſays, *Rom.* 5. 10. "*When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son.*" Milton again had much of the ſame ſentiment, when he makes Adam ſay, in ver. 1059, "*Cloth'd us unworthy.*" PEARCE.

Opprobrious, with his robe of righteouſneſs,
Arraying, cover'd from his Father's ſight.
To him with ſwift aſcent he up return'd,
Into his bliſsful boſom reaſſum'd
In glory, as of old; to him appeas'd
All, though all-knowing, what had paſs'd with Man
Recounted, mixing interceſſion ſweet.
Mean while, ere thus was ſinn'd and judg'd on Earth,
Within the gates of Hell ſat Sin and Death,
In counterview within the gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame

Ver. 222. ——— *with his* robe of righteouſneſs,
Arraying, cover'd *from his Father's ſight*.] *Iſaiah*, lxi. 10. "He hath clothed me with the garments of ſalvation, he hath *covered* me with the *robe of righteouſneſs*." NEWTON.

Perhaps there is here an alluſion alſo to *Ezekiel*, ſpeaking of God's love towards Jeruſalem, xvi. 8, "I ſpread my *ſkirt* over thee, and *covered* thy *nakedneſs*." TODD.

Ver. 229. *Mean while, ere thus was ſinn'd and judg'd*] Two Imperfonals: *Before* Man had thus ſinned, and God had thus judged him, Sin and Death ſat in counterview within the gates of Hell; but *now*, upon Man's tranſgreſſion and God's judgement, Sin *thus began* and addreſſed herſelf to *Death*.

"O Son, why ſit we here, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 232. ——— belching *outrageous* flame] Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 44.

"As burning Ætna from his boyling ſtew
"Doth *belch* out *flames*."

See alſo before, B. i. 671. TODD.

Far into Chaos, ſince the Fiend paſs'd through,
Sin opening; who thus now to Death began.
O Son, why ſit we here each other viewing
Idly, while Satan, our great author, thrives
In other worlds, and happier ſeat provides
For us, his offspring dear? It cannot be
But that ſucceſs attends him; if miſhap,
Ere this he had return'd, with fury driven
By his avengers; ſince no place like this
Can fit his puniſhment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new ſtrength within me riſe,
Wings growing, and dominion given me large
Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on,
Or ſympathy, or ſome connatural force,
Powerful at greateſt diſtance to unite,
With ſecret amity, things of like kind,
By ſecreteſt conveyance. Thou, my ſhade

Ver. 245. ——— *whatever draws me on,*
Or ſympathy, or ſome connatural force,] The modern philoſopher may perhaps take offence at this now exploded notion; but every friend to the Muſes will, I doubt not, pardon it for the ſake of that fine ſtrain of poetry, which it has given the poet an opportunity of introducing in the following deſcription. THYER.

Ver. 249. *Thou, my* ſhade] We ſometimes find *ſhade* uſed much after the ſame manner in the beſt claſſick authors, as in Horace, *Sat.* II. viii. 22.

———"quos Mecænas adduxerat *umbras*."

But it has a further propriety and beauty in this place, as Death *ſeem'd a ſhadow*, B. ii. 669, and was the inſeparable companion, as well as the offspring, of Sin. NEWTON.

Inſeparable, muſt with me along:
For Death from Sin no power can ſeparate.
But, leſt the difficulty of paſſing back
Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
Impaſſable, impervious; let us try
Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
Not unagreeable, to found a path
Over this main from Hell to that new world,
Where Satan now prevails; a monument
Of merit high to all the infernal hoſt,
Eaſing their paſſage hence, for intercourſe,
Or tranſmigration, as their lot ſhall lead.
Nor can I miſs the way, ſo ſtrongly drawn
By this new-felt attraction and inſtinct.
Whom thus the meager Shadow anſwer'd ſoon.

In a ſacred drama written by the elder Cicognini, entitled *Il Gran Natale di Chriſto*, Death ſays to Sin,

" Ed io, che un' *ombra* ſono
" Pronta ti ſeguo, *come l' ombra il corpo.*"

Dr. Burney's Hiſt. of Muſick, vol. iv. p. 95.

In this drama, it is added by the learned hiſtorian, Lucifer reſembles, in his daring language and impious ſentiments, the Satan of Milton: Lucifer, riſing from the infernal regions, ſpeaks the prologue; and Human Nature, perſonified, opens the firſt act with a ſpeech much reſembling that of Adam at the end of the tenth book of *Paradiſe Loſt:* Sin and Death are likewiſe perſonified, and ſpeak Miltonick ſentiments. TODD.

Ver. 260. ——————— *for* intercourſe,
Or tranſmigration,] *Intercourſe*, paſſing frequently backward and forward; *tranſmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation: They were uncertain which their lot ſhould be. RICHARDSON.

Go, whither Fate, and inclination ſtrong,
Leads thee; I ſhall not lag behind, nor err
The way, thou leading; ſuch a ſcent I draw
Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taſte
The ſavour of death from all things there that live:
Nor ſhall I to the work thou enterpriſeſt
Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.

So ſaying, with delight he ſnuff'd the ſmell
Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,

Ver. 266. ——————— *nor* err

The way,] Nor *miſtake* the way; a remarkable expreſſion. NEWTON.

Ver. 267. ——————— *ſuch a ſcent I draw*

Of carnage,] Compare the *Eumenides* of Æſchylus, v. 246, to which Mr. Stillingfleet alſo refers:

Οὐδ' αἱματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῷ
Ἄτμῳ κατισχναίνουσα νηδύος πυρί.

See alſo my note on B. ii. 664. TODD.

Ver. 273. ——————— *As when a flock*

Of ravenous fowl, &c.] Dr. Newton thinks, that Lucan's deſcription of the ravenous birds that followed the Roman camp, and ſcented the battle of Pharſalia, gave occaſion to Milton's ſimile: See *Pharſal.* viii. 831. Poſſibly the following paſſage, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Buſh,* might have been now in Milton's mind:

——————" 'tis ſaid of vultures,
" They ſcent a field fought: and do ſmell the carcaſſes
" By many hundred miles."

Mr. Bowle here cites, from *Froiſſart,* the account given of the ravens which appeared, hovering over both armies, at the battle of Creſſy; and thinks that Milton might allude to part of Caſſius's ſpeech in *Julius Cæſar:*

Againſt the day of battle, to a field,
Where armies lie encamp'd, come flying, lur'd
With ſcent of living carcaſſes deſign'd
For death, the following day, in bloody fight:
So ſcented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
His noſtril wide into the murky air;
Sagacious of his quarry from ſo far.
Then both from out Hell-gates, into the waſte
Wide anarchy of Chaos, damp and dark,
Flew diverſe; and with power (their power was great)
Hovering upon the waters, what they met
Solid or ſlimy, as in raging ſea
Toſt up and down, together crouded drove,
From each ſide ſhoaling towards the mouth of Hell:

——————" Ravens, crows, and kites,
" Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us
" As we were ſickly prey." TODD.

Ver. 279. —————— *and upturn'd*
His noſtril wide into the murky *air;*] Hume and Dr. Newton here quote from Virgil, *Georg.* i. 376.

——" et patulis captavit naribus auras."

They alſo obſerve, that " *mirkſome* air" is a phraſe in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 28; where *mirkſome* ſignifies *infected* or *tainted*. Dr. Newton alſo adds, from *Macbeth*, " Hell is *murky*;" where *murky* means *dark*. Minſheu gives this interpretation of *mirke*, in his *Guide into Tongues*. And Chaucer applies the word to the moon eclipſed, RR. 5339. Milton's expreſſion may remind the reader of " the fog and *filthy air*" through which the weird ſiſters in *Macbeth* " hover." TODD.

Ver. 281. *Sagacious*] Quick of ſcent. " *Sagire* enim, ſentire

As when two polar winds, blowing adverſe
Upon the Cronian ſea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that ſtop the imagin'd way
Beyond Petſora eaſtward, to the rich
Cathaian coaſt. The aggregated ſoil
Death with his mace petrifick, cold and dry,
As with a trident, ſmote; and fix'd as firm
As Delos, floating once; the reſt his look

acutè eſt; ex quo *fagaces* dicti canes," *Cic. de Div.* l. iv. A fit compariſon for the *chief hell-hound.* HUME.

Ver. 289. *As when two polar winds,* &c.] Sin and Death, flying into different parts of Chaos, and driving all the matter they meet with there in ſhoals towards the mouth of Hell, are compared to *two polar winds*, north and ſouth, *blowing adverſe upon the Cronian ſea*, the northern frozen ſea, ("A Thule unius diei navigatione mare *concretum* a nonnullis *Cronium* appellatur." Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 16.) and *driving together mountains of ice, that ſtop the imagined way*, the north-eaſt paſſage as it is called, which ſo many have attempted to diſcover, *Beyond Petſora eaſtward*, the moſt north-eaſtern province of Muſcovy, *to the rich Cathaian coaſt*, Cathay or Catay, a country of Aſia and the northern part of China. NEWTON.

Ver. 294. Death *with his* mace petrifick,] So, in *the Tragedie of Dido*, by Marlowe and Naſh, 1594, Æneas ſpeaks;

"A woeful tale bids Dido to vnfold,
"Whoſe memorie, like pale *death's ſtony mace*,
"Beates forth my ſenſes from this troubled ſoule,
"And makes Æneas ſink at Dido's feete."

Mace, it ſhould be obſerved, is the old word for *ſcepter*; and is often given to *Death*, in our old poetry. Thus again, in the Hiſtorie of *Sir Clyomon*, &c. 1599.

"Ah! *Death*, come with thy direfull *mace*." TODD.

Ver. 296. *As Delos, floating once:*] An iſland in the Archipelago, ſaid to have floated about the ſea, till it became the

Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move;
And with Aſphaltick ſlime, broad as the gate,

birth-place of Apollo. Callimachus, in his hymn called *Delos*, has given a moſt enchanting deſcription of this matter.

RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——————— *the reſt his look* &c.] In Milton's own editions the paſſage was thus,

——— ———" the reſt his look
" Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,
" And with Aſphaltick ſlime; broad as the gate,
" Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
" They faſten'd,"———

A difficult paſſage; which Dr. Bentley perceived and tried to mend thus,

" As Delos *now*, once floating: *then* his look
" *The fabrick* with Gorgonian *power faſt* bound,
" *As* with Aſphaltick ſlime. Broad as the gate, &c."

But he did not obſerve, that Milton by the words *the reſt* meant thoſe ſubſtances which were not *ſolid* or *foil*, but were ſoft and *ſlimy*, ver. 286. And Death is here deſcribed as not binding faſt the fabrick (the foundation of that was yet but laying) but as hardening the ſoft and *ſlimy* ſubſtances, and fixing them (like the *foil*) for the foundation of his bridge. To *Gorgonian rigour*, the doctor objects that the *rigour* or hardneſs was not in the Gorgon's look, but in the object turned into ſtone. And ſo it may be underſtood here—a *rigour* ſuch as was cauſed by the Gorgon's look. Milton has the authority of Claudian for expreſſing himſelf thus,—" *rigidâ* cum *Gorgone* Perſeus." In Ruffin. I. 279. Again, the doctor objects to *And with Aſphaltick ſlime*, becauſe then the conſtruction would be, his *look* bound it with *ſlime*. I agree with him that this could not come from Milton. But then I think the doctor's change of *And* into *As* does not ſufficiently mend the paſſage; for does it not leſſen the thought to ſay, that it was bound with *Gorgonian power* as with *ſlime*? even *Aſphaltick ſlime* had not that binding power, which fable ſuppoſes *the Gorgon's look* to have had. Thus I can ſee that neither the com-

Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
They faſten'd, and the mole immenſe wrought on
Over the foaming deep high-arch'd, a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceleſs world,

mon reading nor the doctor's are free from great exceptions. There is only one way (I think) in which all theſe difficulties are to be got over, and that is by changing two of the points in the paſſage, and reading thus:

——————— " the reſt his look
" Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move.
" And with Aſphaltick ſlime, broad as the gate,
" Deep to the roots of Hell, the gather'd beach
" They faſten'd,"———

The firſt part of the paſſage, ending at *move*, I underſtand as relating only to the hardening the ſoft and ſlimy ſubſtances: and all the reſt ſeems to relate to the faſtening the foundation with *Aſphaltick ſlime* to the roots of Hell. I may be miſtaken in my conjecture; but this reading (methinks) bids fairer for the true one, than either of the other two. PEARCE.

It appears that by *the reſt* we are to underſtand the *ſlimy* parts, as diſtinguiſhed from the *ſolid* or *foil:* and it would be very abſurd to ſay, that his look bound the ſlimy parts *with Aſphaltick ſlime* or *as with Aſphaltick ſlime*. It is much eaſier to ſuppoſe, with Mr. Richardſon, that the comma after *move*, and the ſemicolon after *ſlime*, have changed places, and that the paſſage ſhould be read thus,

———————————" the reſt his look
" Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move;
" And with Aſphaltick ſlime, broad as the gate,
" Deep to the roots of Hell &c."

The ſenſe is then the very ſame as in the foregoing moſt excellent remark of Dr. Pearce's, and we venture to print it accordingly.

NEWTON.

Forfeit to Death; from hence a paſſage broad,
Smooth, eaſy, inoffenſive, down to Hell.
So, if great things to ſmall may be compar'd,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Suſa, his Memnonian palace high,
Came to the ſea; and, over Helleſpont
Bridging his way, Europe with Aſia join'd,

Ver. 304. ——— *from hence a paſſage broad,*
Smooth, eaſy, inoffenſive, down to Hell.] Alluding perhaps to Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 126. "Facilis deſcenſus Averni." Or to the paths of wickedneſs, Heſiod *Op. et Dies*, v. 285.

Τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι
Ῥηϊδίως· ὀλίγη μὲν ὁδὸς, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει. JORTIN.

"Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to deſtruction," *Mat.* vii. 13. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 305. ——— *inoffenſive,*] Un-obſtructed. Mr. Stillingfleet notes the ſame Latin idiom, in B. viii. 164; the Earth's "*inoffenſive* pace." TODD.

Ver. 306. *So, Xerxes,* &c.] This ſimile is very exact and beautiful. As Sin and Death built a bridge over Chaos to ſubdue and enſlave mankind: So Xerxes, to bring the free ſtates of Greece under his yoke, *came from Suſa*, the reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, called *Memnonia* by Herodotus; and, building a bridge over Helleſpont, the narrow ſea by Conſtantinople, that divides Europe from Aſia, to march his large army over it, *Europe with Aſia join'd, and ſcourg'd with many a ſtroke the indignant waves;* alluding to the madneſs of Xerxes in ordering the ſea to be whipt for the loſs of ſome of his ſhips; *indignant* waves, *ſcorning and raging to be ſo confined,* as Virgil ſays, *Æn.* viii. 728. "Pontem *indignatus* Araxes." And *Georg.* ii. 162.

"Atque *indignatum* magnis ſtridoribus æquor." NEWTON.

But we may here alſo refer to the *Perſæ* of *Æſchylus*, ver. 395, edit. Schütz.

Εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥαθιώδος ξυνεμβολῇ
Ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον, κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. Bridging *his way,*] A learned friend, noticing the

And ſcourg'd with many a ſtroke the indignant
waves.
Now had they brought the work by wonderous
art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendant rock,
Over the vex'd abyſs, following the track
Of Satan to the ſelf-ſame place where he 315

uncommon participle *bridging*, refers this paſſage alſo to the *Perſæ* of Æſchylus, ver. 66—71, to which likewiſe Mr. Dunſter refers, as well as to a preceding paſſage, which Milton imitates in " the liberty of Greece to yoke:"

Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι. TODD.

Ver. 312. ——— ——— by wonderous art
Pontifical,] By the ſtrange *art of raiſing bridges.* Pontifex, the high prieſt of the Romans, had that name from *pons* a bridge and *facere* to make: " Quia ſublicius pons a *pontificibus* factus eſt primum, et reſtitutus ſæpè," according to Varro. HUME.

Art pontifical is a very bad expreſſion to ſignify the *art of building bridges;* and yet, to ſuppoſe a pun, would be worſe; as if the Roman prieſthood were as ready to make the way eaſy to Hell, as Sin and Death did. WARBURTON.

Mr. Warton, in his *Obſervations on Spenſer*, noticing that the word *munificence* has been injudiciouſly coined by Spenſer, in order to denote *defence* or *fortification*, from *munio* and *facio*; conſiders Milton as perhaps more blameable for the ſimilar fault of " art *pontifical;*" as the ambiguous term *pontifical* may be ſo eaſily conſtrued into a pun, and may be interpreted *popiſh*, as well as *bridge-making*. Dr. Johnſon thinks that Milton employed the word as an equivocal ſatire on *popery*. But both criticks decline any notice of *pontifice*, ver. 348. I muſt not here omit a deſcription of P. Fletcher, in his *Locuſts*, 1627, p. 34.

" Mean time Hels yron gates *by fiends* beneath
" Are open flung; which, *fram'd with wondrous art*,
" To every guilty ſoule yeelds entrance eath." TODD.

Firſt lighted from his wing, and landed ſafe
From out of Chaos, to the outſide bare
Of this round world: With pins of adamant
And chains they made all faſt, too faſt they made
And durable! And now in little ſpace
The confines met of empyréan Heaven,
And of this World; and, on the left hand, Hell
With long reach interpos'd; three ſeveral ways
In ſight, to each of theſe three places led.
And now their way to Earth they had deſcried,
To Paradiſe firſt tending; when, behold!
Satan, in likeneſs of an Angel bright,
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion ſteering
His zenith, while the ſun in Aries roſe:

Ver. 317. *From out of Chaos,* to *the outſide bare*] In Milton's own editions the verſes are thus,

"Of Satan, to the ſelf ſame place where he
" Firſt lighted from his wing, and landed ſafe
" From out of Chaos to the outſide bare &c."

Is not here a falſe print? and is it not properer to read *landed ſafe* on *the outſide bare of this round world* than *landed ſafe* to *the outſide?* Or rather, is not here another inſtance of falſe pointing? and ſhould not the comma after Satan be omitted, and inſerted after *Chaos?* and is not this the conſtruction of the whole paſſage? " Now had they brought the work—over the vex'd abyſs—to the outſide bare of this round world, following the track of Satan to the ſelf-ſame place where he firſt lighted from his wing, and landed ſafe from out of Chaos." We venture to print it accordingly, not knowing well how to make ſenſe and grammar of it otherwiſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 328. *Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion ſteering*
His zenith, while the ſun in Aries roſe:] Alluding to a ſhip ſteering her courſe betwixt two iſlands: So Satan directed

Diſguis'd he came; but thoſe his children dear
Their parent ſoon diſcern'd, though in diſguiſe.
He, after Eve ſeduc'd, unminded ſlunk
Into the wood faſt by; and, changing ſhape,
To obſerve the ſequel, ſaw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unweeting, ſeconded
Upon her huſband; ſaw their ſhame that ſought
Vain covertures; but when he ſaw deſcend
The Son of God to judge them, terrified
He fled; not hoping to eſcape, but ſhun
The preſent; fearing, guilty, what his wrath
Might ſuddenly inflict; that paſt, return'd
By night, and liſtening where the hapleſs pair
Sat in their ſad diſcourſe, and various plaint,

his way between theſe two ſigns of the zodiack upwards; the zenith is overhead. RICHARDSON.

Dr. Bentley puts a comma after *ſteering:* but there ſhould be none; for the ſenſe is, *ſteering* to *his zenith*, or upwards, towards the outſide of this round world, from whence he had come down, ver. 317. Beſides the doctor, inſtead of *roſe*, reads *rode:* but it was *evening*, when Meſſiah came and paſſed the ſentence on the tranſgreſſours, ver. 92; and after that *Sin* and *Death* made the bridge; ſo that the ſun might be *riſing* in Aries, when they met *Satan ſteering* his *zenith*. And this is confirmed by what follows here in ver. 341, &c. PEARCE.

Satan to avoid being diſcovered (as he had been before, B. iv. 569, &c.) by Uriel regent of the ſun, takes care to keep at as great a diſtance as poſſible, and therefore *while the ſun roſe in Aries*, he ſteers his courſe directly upwards *betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion*, two conſtellations which lay in a quite different part of the Heavens from Aries. NEWTON.

Thence gather'd his own doom; which underſtood
Not inſtant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd;
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wonderous pontifice, unhop'd
Met, who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
Great joy was at their meeting, and at ſight
Of that ſtupendious bridge his joy encreas'd.
Long he admiring ſtood, till Sin, his fair
Enchanting daughter, thus the ſilence broke.
O Parent, theſe are thy magnifick deeds,
Thy trophies! which thou view'ſt as not thine own;
Thou art their author, and prime architect:

Ver. 344. ——————— *which underſtood*
Not inſtant, but of future time, with joy &c.] In Milton's own editions, and in all the reſt which I have ſeen till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's, it was falſely printed thus,
———————" which underſtood
" Not inſtant, but of future time. With joy &c."
But the ſenſe evidently ſhows, that the ſentence ſhould be continued: From their diſcourſe Satan *gather'd his own doom*, which being *underſtood not inſtant, but of future time, he now return'd with joy to Hell.* NEWTON.

Tickell muſt be exempted from doctor Newton's cenſure; for Tickell, and not Fenton, firſt made the emendation of the pointing. TODD.

Ver. 345. ——————— *with joy*
And tidings fraught,] That is, with joyful tidings. So Virgil, " Munera lætitiamque Dei," Æn. I. 636, for *munera læta.* RICHARDSON.

For I no ſooner in my heart divin'd,
My heart, which by a ſecret harmony
Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion ſweet,
That thou on earth hadſt proſper'd, which thy looks
Now alſo evidence, but ſtraight I felt,
Though diſtant from thee worlds between, yet felt,
That I muſt after thee, with this thy ſon;
Such fatal conſequence unites us three!
Hell could no longer hold us in our bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable gulf obſcure
Detain from following thy illuſtrious track.
Thou haſt achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
Within Hell-gates till now; thou us impower'd
To fortify thus far, and overlay,
With this portentous bridge, the dark abyſs.
Thine now is all this world; thy virtue hath won
What thy hands builded not; thy wiſdom gain'd
With odds what war hath loſt, and fully aveng'd
Our foil in Heaven; here thou ſhalt monarch reign,
There didſt not; there let him ſtill victor ſway,

Ver. 368. *Thou haſt achiev'd our liberty, confin'd*
Within Hell-gates till now;——] What, *liberty confin'd in Hell?* a mere contradiction, ſays Dr. Bentley. He therefore reads *Us*, us confin'd till now in Hell. But *our* is the ſame as *of us:* and Milton means the liberty of us confin'd till now in Hell. See more inſtances of this, B. iv. 129, B. viii. 423, and B. ix. 908. PEARCE.

As battle hath adjudg'd; from this new world
Retiring, by his own doom alienated;
And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
Of all things, parted by the empyreal bounds,
His quadrature, from thy orbicular world;
Or try thee now more dangerous to his throne.
Whom thus the Prince of darkneſs anſwer'd glad.
Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both;
High proof ye now have given to be the race

Ver. 381. *His* quadrature, *from thy* orbicular *world;*] The world is *orbicular* or *round;* the empyreal Heaven is a *quadrature* or *ſquare.* Milton had before ſaid, that it was *undetermin'd ſquare or round,* B. ii. 1048; and ſo it might be to Satan viewing it at that diſtance: But here he follows the opinion of Gaſſendus and others, who ſay that the empyreum, or Heaven of Heavens, is of a *ſquare figure,* becauſe the holy city is ſo deſcribed: "And the city lieth *four-ſquare,* and the length is as large as the breadth," *Rev.* xxi. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 383. ——— *the Prince of darkneſs*] Hume and Dr. Newton obſerve, that Satan may be properly ſo called; ſince his Angels are ſtyled, in Scripture, *Rulers of the darkneſs of this world,* Epheſ. vi. 12.—But, the title of the *Prince of darkneſs* was not coined by Milton. It occurs in Spenſer, *F. Q.* iii. viii. 8. And thus, in the old *Tragœdie of Alexander the Sixth or the Devil's Charter,*

"I charge thee by the four recited names, &c.
"By which the *Prince of darkneſs,* and all Powers
"In earth and hell, doe tremble and fall downe, &c."

So Edgar, ſpeaking of foul fiends, mentions expreſſly "the *Prince of darkneſs,*" King Lear, A. iii. S. iv. And the Devil is called "the apoſtate *Prince of Darkneſs,*" in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* edit. 1621, p. 14. TODD.

Of Satan, (for I glory in the name,
Antagoniſt of Heaven's Almighty King,)
Amply have merited of me, of all
The infernal empire, that ſo near Heaven's door
Triumphal with triumphal act have met,
Mine, with this glorious work; and made one realm,
Hell and this world, one realm, one continent
Of eaſy thorough-fare. Therefore, while I
Deſcend through darkneſs, on your road with eaſe,
To my aſſociate Powers, them to acquaint
With theſe ſucceſſes, and with them rejoice;
You two this way, among theſe numerous orbs,
All yours, right down to Paradiſe deſcend;
There dwell, and reign in bliſs; thence on the earth
Dominion exerciſe and in the air,
Chiefly on Man, ſole lord of all declar'd;
Him firſt make ſure your thrall, and laſtly kill.

Ver. 391.——————— *and made one realm,*
Hell and this world, one realm, one continent] This is the genuine reading; but Fenton and Dr. Bentley have both, in the ſecond line, very abſurdly printed "*our* realm," though the doctor places *one* in the margin, as if it were a conjecture of his own. NEWTON.

Fenton and Bentley were preceded in this miſtake, by Tickell; who alſo reads "*our* realm." The errour may be obſerved in ſeveral later editions. TODD.

Ver. 397. ——————— theſe *numerous orbs,*] In the firſt edition, *thoſe.* TODD.

My ſubſtitutes I ſend ye, and create
Plenipotent on earth, of matchleſs might
Iſſuing from me: on your joint vigour now
My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
If your joint power prevail, the affairs of Hell
No detriment need fear; go, and be ſtrong!
So ſaying he diſmiſs'd them; they with ſpeed
Their courſe through thickeſt conſtellations held,
Spreading their bane; the blaſted ſtars look'd wan,

Ver. 408. ——————— *prevail,*] So it is in the firſt edition: in the ſecond, it is *prevails.* NEWTON.

Ver. 409. No detriment *need fear;*] Hume and Mr. Thyer obſerve, that Milton here alludes to the charge, given by the Roman ſenate to the ſupreme magiſtrate, in times of danger, "Providere *nequid* reſpublica *detrimenti* accipiat." TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *go, and be ſtrong!*] Satan encourages Sin and Death in much the ſame words as Moſes encourages Joſhua, *Deut.* xxxi. 7, 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 412. *Spreading their bane;*] Ovid's deſcription of the journey of Envy to Athens, and Milton's of Sin and Death to Paradiſe, have a great reſemblance. But whatever Milton imitates, he adds a greatneſs to it; as, in this place, he alters Ovid's flowers, herbs, people, and cities, to ſtars, planets, and worlds. Ovid. *Met.* ii. 793.

"Quacumque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva,
"Exurítque herbas, et ſumma cacumina carpit:
"Afflatúque ſuo populos, urbéſque, domóſque,
"Polluit."

See *An Eſſay upon Milton's Imitation of the Ancients,* p. 42. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *the blaſted ſtars look'd wan,* &c.] Much in the ſame manner Marino deſcribes his Jealouſy ſallying out into the world, *Adon.* C. xii. ſt. 29.

And planets, planet-ſtruck, real eclipſe
Then ſuffer'd. The other way Satan went down

" Toſto che fuor de la ſpelonca oſcura
" Uſcì quel ſozzo vomito d' Inferno,
" Sentiro i fiori intorno, e la verdura
" Fiati di peſte, et aliti d' Auerno.
" *Poria col ciglio inſtupidir Natura,*
" *Inhorridire il bel pianeta eterno,*
" *Intorbidar le ſtelle, e gli elementi.*"

So Taſſo, ſpeaking of Alecto, *Gier. Lib.* C. IX. ſt. i.

" Si parte, e doue paſſa i campi lieti
" Secca, e pallido il ſol ſi fà repente." THYER.

So, in P. Fletcher's *Locuſts*, 1627, p. 58, on the Devils' ſallying out from Hell into the world, it is obſerved, that, in conſequence,

——————" Heaven ſhuts his eyes;
" *The ſtarres look pale;* and early morning's ray
" Lays down her head againe, and dares not riſe."

And in his *Purp. Iſland*, 1633, C. xii. ſt. 40.

" Soon as theſe helliſh monſters came in ſight,
" The ſun his eye in jettie vapours drown'd,
" Scar'd at ſuch hell-hounds' view; heaven's mazed light
" Sets in an early evening."

Compare another paſſage in Taſſo, where Armida invocates the Devils, C. xvi. ſt. 67.

——————" in un momento
" *Impallidiſce il gran pianeta eterno.*"

And alſo the Strage de gli Innocenti of Marino, edit. 1633, p. 17. " Potria col ciglio &c." TODD.

Ver. 413. *And planets*, planet-ſtruck,] We ſay of a thing when it is blaſted and withered, that it is *planet-ſtruck;* and *that* is now applied to the planets themſelves. And what a ſublime idea doth it give us of the devaſtations of Sin and Death!
NEWTON.

The cauſey to Hell-gate: On either ſide
Diſparted Chaos overbuilt exclaim'd,
And with rebounding ſurge the bars aſſail'd,
That ſcorn'd his indignation: Through the gate,
Wide open and unguarded, Satan paſs'd,
And all about found deſolate; for thoſe,
Appointed to ſit there, had left their charge,
Flown to the upper world; the reſt were all
Far to the inland retir'd, about the walls
Of Pandemonium; city and proud ſeat
Of Lucifer, ſo by alluſion call'd
Of that bright ſtar to Satan paragon'd;
There kept their watch the legions, while the
Grand

Ver. 415. *The* cauſey] In the Comedy of *Lingua*, 1607, A. v. S. vii. Tactus directing Appetitus to *hell*, obſerves

"'Tis a wide *cauſie* that conducteth thither,
"An eaſie tract, and *downe hill* all the way." TODD.

Ver. 417. *And with rebounding ſurge the bars aſſail'd,*
That ſcorn'd his indignation:] Virg. Georg. ii. 161.

——————"Lucrinóque addita clauſtra,
"Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æquor." NEWTON.

Ver. 426. —————— *to Satan* paragon'd;] Of the French *paragonner*, to be equal, to be like. HUME.

It had been common in Engliſh poetry. Thus, in Shakſpeare's *Othello*, A. ii. S. i.

"That *paragons* deſcription and wild fame."

And in Drummond's *Poems*, 1616, part 2d.

"To make thy body *paragone* thy minde." TODD.

Ver. 427. —————————— *while* the Grand

In council ſat, ſolicitous what chance
Might intercept their emperour ſent; ſo he
Departing gave command, and they obſerv'd.
As when the Tartar from his Ruſſian foe,
By Aſtracan, over the ſnowy plains,
Retires; or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
Of Turkiſh creſcent, leaves all waſte beyond

In council ſat,] Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* C. i. ſt. 20.

" *I Grandi* dell' eſercito ſi uniro
" *Glorioſo ſenato* in di ſolenne." TODD.

Ver. 421. Appointed] This *appointment* is tacitly implied in Satan's ſpeech, B. ii. 839, 840. BOWLE.

Ver. 432. *By Aſtracan*, &c.] A conſiderable part of the Czar's dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital city of the ſame name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at its fall into the Caſpian ſea; *or Bactrian Sophi*, the Perſian emperour, named of *Bactria*, one of the greateſt and richeſt provinces of Perſia; *from the horns of Turkiſh creſcent*, his Turkiſh enemies, who bear the *creſcent* in their enſigns; *leaves all waſte beyond the realm of Aladule*, the Greater Armenia, called Aladule of its laſt king *Aladules*, ſlain by Selymus the firſt, *in his retreat to Tauris*, a great city of Perſia, now called Ecbatana, ſometime in the hands of the Turks, but retaken in 1603 by Abas king of Perſia; *or Caſbeen*, one of the greateſt cities of Perſia, towards the Caſpian ſea, where the Perſian monarchs made their reſidence after the loſs of *Tauris*, from which it is diſtant ſixty-five German miles to the ſouth-eaſt. HUME.

Ver. 433. ——— *or Bactrian Sophi*, from *the horns*
Of Turkiſh creſcent,] Dr. Bentley ſays, Better thus;

" or Bactrian Sophi *fled from th'* horns &c."

But *from* is often uſed by Milton without expreſſing the participle, which yet is to be ſupplied in the ſenſe. See B. ii. 542, B. viii. 213, and B. ix. 396. PEARCE.

The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Tauris or Caſbeen: So theſe, the late
Heaven-baniſh'd hoſt, left deſart utmoſt Hell
Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch
Round their metropolis; and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer, from the ſearch
Of foreign worlds: He through the midſt unmark'd,
In ſhow plebeian Angel militant
Of loweſt order, paſs'd; and from the door
Of that Plutonian hall, inviſible
Aſcended his high throne; which, under ſtate

Ver. 441. ——— *He through the midſt unmark'd,* &c.] This account of Satan's paſſing unmarked through the midſt of the Angels, and aſcending his throne inviſible; and ſeeing there about him, himſelf unſeen; and then burſting forth as from a cloud, in glory; ſeems to be copied from a like adventure of Æneas, Virg. *Æn.* i. 439.

" Infert ſe ſeptus nebulâ, mirabile dictu,
" Per medios, miſcétque viris; neque cernitur ulli.—
" Diſſimulant; et nube cavâ ſpeculantur amicti—
" Vix ea fatus erat, quum circumfuſa repente
" Scindit ſe nubes, et in æthera purgat apertum.
" Reſtitit Æneas, claráque in luce refulſit,
" Os humeróſque deo ſimilis." NEWTON.

Pope has obſerved, that Virgil here imitates the adventure of Ulyſſes in the ſeventh *Odyſſey*, ver. 39, &c. Mr. Stillingfleet has made the ſame remark. Milton has improved upon both. TODD.

Ver. 445. ——— *under* ſtate &c.] Under a *canopy* of richeſt texture: for ſo the word *ſtate* was formerly underſtood. See Mr. Warton's note on *Arcades*, v. 81. TODD.

Of richeſt texture ſpread, at the upper end
Was plac'd in regal luſtre. Down a while
He ſat, and round about him ſaw unſeen:
At laſt, as from a cloud, his fulgent head
And ſhape ſtar-bright appear'd, or brighter; clad
With what permiſſive glory ſince his fall
Was left him, or falſe glitter: All amaz'd
At that ſo ſudden blaze the Stygian throng
Bent their aſpect, and whom they wiſh'd beheld,
Their mighty Chief return'd: loud was the acclaim:
Forth ruſh'd in haſte the great conſulting peers,
Rais'd from their dark Divan, and with like joy

Ver. 448. —— *and round about him* ſaw, unſeen:] Taſſo aſcribes the ſame to his Armida, *Fairfax*, B. vii. ſt. 36.

" Within a tarras ſat on high the queene,
" And heard and *ſaw*, and kept herſelf *unſeene*."

And Shakſpeare has the ſame ſentiment, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

" ————" Her father and myſelf
" Will ſo beſtow ourſelves, that *ſeeing unſeen*
" We may of their encounter frankly judge."

So Spenſer places Calidore near the Graces, *F. Q.* vi. x. 11.

" *Beholding* all, yet of them *uneſpied*." BOWLE.

Ver. 449. *At laſt, as from a cloud, his fulgent head*
And ſhape ſtar-bright appear'd,] Not without an alluſion perhaps to his favourite Apollonius, i. 239.

———— οἱ δ', φασειοὶ
Ἀστέρες ὣς νεφέεσσι, μετέπρεπον. TODD.

Ver. 457. ———— Divan,] *Divan* is an Arabick or Turkiſh word, ſignifying *The Supreme Council*. Sandys, in his *Travels*, calls it the *Divano*, as alſo the *Divan*, pp. 32, and 61, edit. 1615. As the poet calls Satan " the *Sultan*," B. i.

Congratulant approach'd him; who with hand
Silence, and with theſe words attention, won.
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers; 460

348, he is ſuppoſed, by Dr. Newton, here to denominate, by another metaphor taken from the Turks, the council of Devils "the *Divan*." Hume alſo thinks the reſemblance pertinent. Probably Milton, however, intended no ſuch reflection as is ſuppoſed. See note, B. i. 795. He was fond of introducing foreign words into his poetry; and in the preſent inſtance he has been followed by his affectionate biographer, and not unſucceſsful imitator, Fenton; *Odyſſ.* iv. 902.

"Swift to the queen the herald Medon ran,
"Who heard the conſult of the dire *Divan*. TODD.

Ver. 458. ——————— *who with hand*
Silence,] Thus Ceſar, before addreſſing his ſoldiers, Lucan, *Pharſal.* i. 297.

———"turbâ coëunte, tumultum
"Compoſuit vultu, *dextrâque ſilentia juſſit*." TODD.

Ver. 460. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers;*] It is common with Homer to make uſe of the ſame verſe ſeveral times, and eſpecially at the beginning of his ſpeeches; but I know not whether there is not more of ſimplicity in the practice, than beauty. Milton, however, has done the ſame with this line: But it is curious to obſerve how artfully he has managed it; and by repeating it every time gives new beauty to it. It is firſt made uſe of by God the Father, when he declares his Son the Meſſiah, and appoints him Head of the Angels, B. v. 600.

Satan, after he had revolted and drawn his legions after him into the north, makes uſe of it again in alluſion to the foregoing ſpeech of God the Father; and queſtions whether theſe magnifick titles were not now become merely titular, B. v. 772.

The Seraph Abdiel on the other ſide repeats it likewiſe after God the Father, and extols his goodneſs in having ſo named the Angels, B. v. 839.

For in poſſeſſion ſuch, not only of right,
I call ye, and declare ye now; return'd
Succeſsful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit
Abominable, accurs'd, the houſe of woe,
And dungeon of our tyrant: Now poſſeſs,
As Lords, a ſpacious world, to our native Heaven
Little inferiour, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
What I have done; what ſuffer'd; with what pain
Voyag'd th' unreal, vaſt, unbounded deep

And now Satan addreſſes his Angels with it again; for now, ſays he, I may declare ye ſuch, not only of right, but in poſſeſſion. So that the repetition of this line depends all along upon the firſt uſe of it, and gives a force and beauty to it, which it would not have without the repetition. NEWTON.

Ver. 469. ——————— *Long were to tell*] This expreſſion occurs frequently in Spenſer, and is introduced here much in his manner. See his *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 14, iii. xi. 39 and 44, v. x. 3. BOWLE.

Ver. 470. *What I have done;* &c.] So Lucifer, relating to Satan and Belial his ſucceſs in ſeducing our firſt parents, in the *Protoplaſtus* of Zieglerus, ſays

" Hac unica cauſſa debetur gratia
" Soli mihi à vobis, quod impetraverim
" Quæ nullus auſus aggredi, vel peragere."

Compare Satan's relation of his having "*ſole undertaken*, when *no other durſt*, the diſmal expedition to find out and ruin Adam," *Par. Reg.* B. i. 100. TODD.

Ver. 471. *Voyag'd th'* unreal, &c.] *Unreal;* becauſe things which are always changing, have no real exiſtence: The doctrine of Plato, who calls God TO' "ON, and deſcribes material things as ſcarcely really exiſting. STILLINGFLEET.

Of horrible confuſion; over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd,
To expedite your glorious march; but I
Toil'd out my uncouth paſſage, forc'd to ride
The untractable abyſs, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild;
That, jealous of their ſecrets, fiercely oppos'd
My journey ſtrange, with clamorous uproar
Proteſting Fate ſupreme; thence how I found

Ver. 475. *Toil'd out my* uncouth *paſſage*,] My ſtrange unuſual paſſage, of the Saxon *uncud*, unknown; *forc'd to* ride *th' untractable abyſs*, as in B. ii. 540. "and *ride* the air." B. ix. 63. "He *rode* with darkneſs." Hor. Od. IV. iv. 44. "Per Siculas *equitavit* undas." We have alſo in Scripture to *ride* upon the winds, to *ride* upon the clouds, &c. But the *toil* was not only in *riding*, but riding an *untractable* abyſs. NEWTON.

Ver. 480. *Proteſting Fate ſupreme;*] Calling upon Fate as a witneſs againſt my proceedings. But this ſeems not perfectly to agree with the account in book the ſecond. It was indeed with labour and difficulty that Satan journey'd through Chaos, but we do not read of Chaos and the other Powers *fiercely oppoſing him*, or *proteſting Fate with clamorous uproar*. On the contrary Chaos bids him

——————"go, and ſpeed;
"Havock, and ſpoil, and ruin, are my gain."

But Satan is here extolling his own performances, and perhaps the author did not intend, that the father of lies ſhould keep ſtrictly to truth. NEWTON.

Ver. 480. ——————— *thence how I found*] It is very wrong in Dr. Bentley to make here the beginning of a new period. It is the ſame ſentence ſtill continued, and refers to verſe 469. *Long were to tell* &c. NEWTON.

The new created world, which fame in Heaven
Long had foretold, a fabrick wonderful
Of abſolute perfection! therein Man
Plac'd in a Paradiſe, by our exíle
Made happy: Him by fraud I have ſeduc'd
From his Creator; and, the more to encreaſe
Your wonder, with an apple; he, thereat
Offended, worth your laughter! hath given up
Both his beloved Man, and all his world,
To Sin and Death a prey, and ſo to us,
Without our hazard, labour, or alarm;
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he ſhould have rul'd.
True is, me alſo he hath judg'd, or rather
Me not, but the brute ſerpent in whoſe ſhape
Man I deceiv'd: that which to me belongs,
Is enmity which he will put between
Me and mankind; I am to bruiſe his heel;
His ſeed, when is not ſet, ſhall bruiſe my head:

Ver. 484. ——————— *by our* exíle] So Milton always accentuates it, on the laſt ſyllable. An elegant and learned writer thinks this to have been the more ancient accentuation of *exile*. See *Elements of Orthoepy*, 1784, p. 346. Shakſpeare uſes it both ways. I find both accents employed alſo in Hawes's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, bl. l. 4°. 1554. Chaucer and Spenſer accentuate the word, as far as I can find, on the laſt ſyllable only. TODD.

Ver. 496. *That which to me belongs,*] Milton underſtands the ſentence (as the moſt learned and orthodox divines do) as referring partly to Satan the author of malice, and partly to the Serpent the inſtrument of it. NEWTON.

A world who would not purchaſe with a bruiſe,
Or much more grievous pain?—Ye have the account
Of my performance: What remains, ye Gods,
But up, and enter now into full bliſs?
So having ſaid, a while he ſtood, expecting
Their univerſal ſhout, and high applauſe,
To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
On all ſides, from innumerable tongues,
A diſmal univerſal hiſs, the ſound
Of publick ſcorn; he wonder'd, but not long
Had leiſure, wondering at himſelf now more;
His viſage drawn he felt to ſharp and ſpare;
His arms clung to his ribs; his legs entwining
Each other, till ſupplanted down he fell
A monſtrous ſerpent on his belly prone,

Ver. 513. ——— *till* ſupplanted *down he fell*] We may obſerve here a ſingular beauty and elegance in Milton's language, and that is his uſing words in their ſtrict and literal ſenſe, which are commonly applied to a metaphorical meaning; whereby he gives peculiar force to his expreſſions, and the literal meaning appears more new and ſtriking than the metaphor itſelf. We have an inſtance of this in the word *ſupplanted*, which is derived from the Latin *ſupplanto*, to trip up one's heels or overthrow, *a planta pedis ſubtus emota:* and there are abundance of other examples in ſeveral parts of this work, but let it ſuffice to have taken notice of it here once for all. NEWTON.

Supplanted like *reluctant* (ver. 515) is a term of the gymnaſium; and Milton preſerves in both the gymnaſtick idea: "In *luctâ* impulſu tantum et tractu et preſſione et *ſupplantatione* uti licebat, ut non cæderetur concertator, ſed proſterneretur." Pitiſci Lexic. V. *Lucta.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 514. *A monſtrous ſerpent on his belly prone,*] Milton, in

Reluctant, but in vain; a greater power
Now rul'd him, puniſh'd in the ſhape he ſinn'd,
According to his doom: he would have ſpoke,
But hiſs for hiſs return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue; for now were all transform'd
Alike, to ſerpents all, as acceſſories
To his bold riot: Dreadful was the din
Of hiſſing through the hall, thick ſwarming now
With complicated monſters head and tail,
Scorpion, and Aſp, and Amphiſbæna dire,

deſcribing Satan's transformation into a ſerpent, had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoſis*, to which he had alluded before in B. ix. 905. And, as ſeveral particulars are alike in both, it may be agreeable to the reader to compare both together. Ovid. *Met.* iv. 575, &c.

" Dixit; et, ut ſerpens, in longam tenditur alvum;
" In pectúſque cadit pronus; commiſsáque in unum
" Paulatim tereti ſinuantur acumine crura——
" Ille quidem vult plura loqui; ſed lingua repente
" In partes eſt fiſſa duas: nec verba volenti
" Sufficiunt; quotiéſque aliquos parat edere queſtus,
" Sibilat: hanc illi vocem Natura relinquit."

But there is ſomething much more aſtoniſhing in Milton, than in Ovid; for there only Cadmus and his wife are changed into ſerpents, but here myriads of Angels are transformed all together.

NEWTON.

Milton's obligation to Dante, in this deſcriptive transformation, is alſo obvious, as Mr. Boyd and Mr. Dunſter likewiſe have remarked. See the *Inferno*, C. xxv. 105 to 128. TODD.

Ver. 524. Scorpion, *and* Aſp, &c.] Pliny numbers the *Aſp*, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, among the ſerpents, viii. 23. And Nican-

Ceraſtes horn'd, Hydrus, and Elops drear,
And Dipſas; (not ſo thick ſwarm'd once the ſoil
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the iſle
Ophiuſa,) but ſtill greateſt he the midſt,

der, in his *Theriaca*, gives both the *Scorpion* and *Aſp* that title. The *Amphiſbæna* and *Ceraſtes* occur among Nicander's ſerpents. The latter is alſo ſtyled in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, "the *horned* Ceraſtes," p. 119. The *Hydrus* is the water-ſnake; and *Elops* is reckoned among the ſerpents by Pliny, xxxii. 5; and by Nicander in his *Theriaca*, as Dr. Pearce has obſerved in vindication of Milton. And for the Dipſas, named of δίψα, *thirſt*; (becauſe, ſays Mr. Hume, thoſe whom it ſtung were tormented with unquenchable thirſt;) ſee alſo Nicander, *Ther.* 334, and ſeq. TODD.

Ver. 526. ——————— *the ſoil*
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon,] Libya, which therefore abounded ſo much with ſerpents, as Ovid ſays, *Met.* iv. 616, &c. Lucan gives a ſimilar account, *Pharſal.* ix. 696, and there mentions moſt of the ſerpents, which are here mentioned by Milton: namely, the *Aſp*, the *Ceraſtes*, the *Dipſas*, and the *Amphiſbæna*. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet here refers to Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* iv. 1515, &c. But Milton was probably led to this alluſion by Dante's terrifick picture of the damned, *Inferno*, C. xxiv. 85.

" Più non ſi vanti Libia con ſua rena:
" Che ſe Chelidri, Jaculi, e Faree
" Produce, e Cenchri con Anfeſibena,

" Nè tante peſtilenzie, nè sì ree
" Moſtrò giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
" Nè con cio, che di ſopra 'l mar roſſo ee."

The ſtrange transformation of men into ſerpents, ſo minutely deſcribed in this canto, could not have here eſcaped the notice of Milton. TODD.

Ver. 528. *Ophiuſa,*] A ſmall iſland in the Mediterranean,

Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the ſun
Ingender'd in the Pythian vale or ſlime,
Huge Python, and his power no leſs he ſeem'd
Above the reſt ſtill to retain; they all
Him follow'd, iſſuing forth to the open field,
Where all yet left of that revolted rout,
Heaven-fallen, in ſtation ſtood or juſt array;
Sublime with expectation when to ſee
In triumph iſſuing forth their glorious Chief;
They ſaw, but other ſight inſtead! a croud
Of ugly ſerpents; horrour on them fell,
And horrid ſympathy; for, what they ſaw,

ſo called by the Greeks, and by the Latins *Colubraria*. The inhabitants quitted it for fear of being devoured by ſerpents.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 529. *Now* Dragon *grown*,] In the ſame place where Lucan gives an account of the various ſerpents of Libya, he deſcribes the *Dragon* as the greateſt and moſt terrible of them all: And Milton very rightly attributes this form to Satan, eſpecially ſince he is called in Scripture, "*The great Dragon*," Rev. xii. 9. He may well be ſaid to be larger than the fabulous *Python*; of which monſter ſee a deſcription in Ovid, *Met.* i. 438. NEWTON.

Compare P. Fletcher's account of the rebel angels, *Purp. Iſland*, 1633. C. vii. ſt. 10.

"But ſome his royal ſervice (fools!) diſdain;
"So down were flung: (oft bliſſe is double pain)
"In heaven they ſcorn'd to ſerve, ſo now in hell they reigne.

II.

"There *turn'd to ſerpents*, ſwoln with pride and hate,
"Their Prince a *Dragon fell*, &c."

And here, in the tenth ſtanza, we obſerve much of the ſentiment expreſſed by Satan, P. L. B. i. 263.

"Better to reign in Hell than ſerve in Heaven!" TODD.

They felt themſelves, now changing; down their arms,
Down fell both ſpear and ſhield; down they as faſt;
And the dire hiſs renew'd, and the dire form
Catch'd, by contagion; like in puniſhment,
As in their crime. Thus was the applauſe they meant,
Turn'd to exploding hiſs, triumph to ſhame
Caſt on themſelves from their own mouths. There ſtood
A grove hard by, ſprung up with this their change,
His will who reigns above, to aggravate
Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that
Which grew in Paradiſe, the bait of Eve
Us'd by the Tempter: on that proſpect ſtrange
Their earneſt eyes they fix'd, imagining

Ver. 546. ——— *triumph to ſhame*] From *Hoſ.* iv. 7. "I will change their glory into ſhame." GILLIES.

Ver. 550. *Their* penance, *laden with* fair *fruit, like that*] This is the verſe in the firſt edition: In the ſecond, *fair* was by miſtake omitted, which left the verſe imperfect; yet is followed in ſome editions, though others have it thus;

"Their penance, laden with fruit, like *to* that."

Fenton has *patience* in his edition, inſtead of *penance*. We have continued Milton's own reading. NEWTON.

Fenton would not have been charged as ſole author of this miſtake, if Dr. Newton had taken the trouble to look into Tonſon's edition of 1711, and Tickell's of 1720; in both which *patience* is the corrupt reading. I obſerve, the true reading is reſtored in Tonſon's edit. of 1746. TODD.

For one forbidden tree a multitude
Now riſen, to work them further woe or ſhame;
Yet, parch'd with ſcalding thirſt and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them ſent, could not abſtain;
But on they roll'd in heaps, and, up the trees
Climbing, ſat thicker than the ſnaky locks
That curl'd Megæra: greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to ſight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;

Ver. 560. *That curl'd Megæra:*] She was one of the Furies, whoſe hair was ſerpents, as Meduſa's; Ovid, *Met.* iv. 771.

——"crinita draconibus ora." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 561. *The fruitage fair to ſight, like that which grew Near that bituminous lake* &c.] The Dead Sea, or the lake *Aſphaltites*, ſo called from the *bitumen* which it is ſaid to have caſt up: near which Sodom and Gomorrah, were ſituated. Joſephus mentions *the apples of Sodom* as diſſolving into aſhes and ſmoke at the firſt touch. But our countrymen, Sandys and Maundrell, who viſited the Holy Land, are inclined to diſbelieve that ſuch fruit exiſted. Cotovicus, however, to whoſe *Travels* I have before referred the reader, deſcribing *Sodom*, &c. poſitively aſſerts the ſame particulars of theſe apples, which the Jewiſh hiſtorian mentions, and to which the poet very minutely alludes: "Hinc quoque arbores illic ſpectes viſu pulcherrimas, et *poma viridantia* producentes, *adſpectu ridentia et nitida*, et *quæ edendi generent ſpectantibus cupiditatem*, ſed intus *fauillâ et cinere plena;* quæ ipſa etiam, ſi carpas, fatiſcunt, et in cinerem reſoluuntur, et, quaſi adhuc arderent, fumum excitant." *Itin. Hieroſol.* ed. ſupr. p. 312. See alſo *Sir John Maundeville's Travels*, edition 1725, p. 122, where he is ſpeaking of this deluſive fruit. "And there beſyden growen trees, that beren fulle *faire apples*, and *faire of colour to beholde;* but whoſo breketh hem, or cuttethe hem in two, he ſchalle fynde within hem *coles* and *cyndres*." TODD.

This more deluſive, not the touch, but taſte
Deceiv'd; they, fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with guſt, inſtead of fruit
Chew'd bitter aſhes, which the offended taſte
With ſpattering noiſe rejected: oft they aſſay'd,
Hunger and thirſt conſtraining; drugg'd as oft,
With hatefulleſt diſreliſh writh'd their jaws,
With ſoot and cinders fill'd; ſo oft they fell
Into the ſame illuſion, not as Man
Whom they triumph'd once laps'd. Thus were
they plagu'd

Ver. 568. ——————— drugg'd *as oft*,] A metaphor taken from the general naufeoufneſs of *drugs*, when they are taken by way of medicine. PEARCE.

Ver. 569. *With hatefulleſt diſreliſh writh'd their jaws*,] As in Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 246.

——————————" et ora
" Triſtia tentantum ſenſu torquebit amaror."

The ſound of Virgil's words admirably expreſſes the thing; nor are Milton's leſs expreſſive in this, and in the preceding, line:

——————" which the offended taſte
" With ſpattering noiſe rejected." NEWTON.

There is a reſemblance of the ſame kind in the fourth book of Lucretius, " Fædo pertorquent ora ſapore." TODD.

Ver. 572. *Whom they triumph'd once laps'd.*] Is the conſtruction thus, " Not as Man whom they triumph'd *over*, once laps'd, *ſemel lapſus eſt*:" Or thus rather, " *Quo ſemel lapſo* triumpharunt, Whom *being* once laps'd they triumph'd?" Fenton's pointing would lead to the former ſenſe; but Milton's own, rather to the latter; and thus Dr. Trapp tranſlates it,

" Non ut homo; quo, egêre, ſemel labente, triumphos."

The antitheſis is between *ſo oft they fell* and *once laps'd;* and, as

And worn with famine, long and ceaſeleſs hiſs,
Till their loſt ſhape, permitted, they reſum'd;
Yearly enjoin'd, ſome ſay, to undergo,

ſo oft they fell are the firſt words of the ſentence, *once laps'd* is very artfully thrown to the end. NEWTON.

I think it more in Milton's manner if we read the paſſage with the *ellipſis*, "Not as Man whom they triumph'd *over*." Thus in ver. 186 of this book, "Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumph'd in open ſhow," i. e. "triumph'd *over*." TODD.

Ver. 573. *And* worn with *famine*, long *and ceaſeleſs hiſs*,] Dr. Bentley reads

"*With thirſt* and famine *dire*, and ceaſeleſs hiſs."

Worn, he ſays, is flat and low, after *plagu'd*: but *plagu'd*, in the metaphorical ſenſe, is only vexed and tormented; an idea below that of *worn* or waſted away. He aſks why *thirſt* is omitted, though mentioned before, and leſs tolerable than *famine*? It is, becauſe *famine* more properly, at leaſt ſooner and more viſibly, wears men away than *thirſt*. PEARCE.

The greateſt objection to this line is the want of a conjunction between *with famine* and *long and ceaſeleſs hiſs*; but that might be remedied thus;

"And worn with famine and long ceaſeleſs hiſs."

Or thus,

"And worn with famine long, and ceaſeleſs hiſs."

NEWTON.

Worn, is *exhauſted*, worn out; and, as Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, denotes the laſt effect of miſery: And *famine*, in its general ſenſe of *dearth*, includes the want of thoſe things which miniſter to *thirſt*, as well as to *hunger*. It is probable alſo that the comma, in Milton's editions, might have been intended to ſtand after *long*, and not after *famine*; as Dr. Newton propoſes to point the line. TODD.

Ver. 575. ——— *ſome ſay*,] The old romancers, as Dr. Warburton ſuſpected; in whoſe writings theſe annual, monthly, or weekly penances of men changed into animals, are often men-

This annual humbling certain number'd days,
To daſh their pride, and joy, for Man ſeduc'd.
However, ſome tradition they diſpers'd
Among the Heathen, of their purchaſe got,
And fabled how the Serpent, whom they call'd

tioned. Dr. Newton thinks the ſpeech of the Faery Manto, in Arioſto, approaches neareſt to the text, *Orl. Fur.* C. xliii. 98.

" Ch' ogni ſettimo giorno ognuna è certa,
" Che la ſua forma in biſcia ſi converta."

To this inſtance of *weekly penance*, may be added other examples of the *human ſhape* converted into *ſerpents*, from the romance of *Amadis de Grecia*, as cited by Mr. Bowle: " La ſerpiente ſe torno una dueña vieja," P. ii. c. iv. f. 98. " Vieron un prado de muy lindas flores y yerva verde, et qual antes parecia lago: y los ſerpientes que por el andavan eran ſeñores y cavelleros," Ib. c. xlvii. f. 138. See alſo Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. ii. 40. And Mr. Upton's illuſtration there, drawn from Scot's *Diſcovery of Witchcraft*, of the *annual* transformations impoſed upon the witches in Livonia. TODD.

Ver. 580. *And fabled how the Serpent*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this whole paſſage: but our author is endeavouring to ſhow, that there was ſome tradition, among the Heathen, of the great power that Satan had obtained over mankind. And this he proves by what is related of *Ophion with Eurynome*. *Ophion with Eurynome*, he ſays, *had firſt the rule of high Olympus*, and were *driven thence by Saturn and Ops* or Rhea, *ere yet* their ſon *Dictæan Jove was born*, ſo called from Dicte, a mountain of Crete, where he was educated. And Milton ſeems to have taken this ſtory from Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* i. 503.

Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε
Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος οὐλύμποιο.
Ὡς τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν, ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς,
Ἡ δὲ Ρέῃ· ἕπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο.
Οἱ δὲ τέως μακάρεσσι θεοῖς Τιτῆσιν ἄνασσον,
Ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδὼς
Δικαίων ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος.

Ophion, with Eurynome, the wide-
Encroaching Eve perhaps, had firſt the rule
Of high Olympus; thence by Saturn driven
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.
Mean while in Paradiſe the helliſh pair
Too ſoon arriv'd; Sin, there in power before,
Once actual; now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death,

Now *Ophion*, according to the Greek etymology, ſignifies *a Serpent;* and therefore Milton conceives that by *Ophion* the *old Serpent* might be intended, *the Serpent whom they call'd Ophion:* and *Eurynome* ſignifying *wide-ruling*, he ſays, but ſays doubtfully, that ſhe might be the *wide-encroaching Eve perhaps.* For I underſtand the *wide-encroaching* not as an epithet to *Eurynome*, explaining her name, but as an epithet to *Eve*, Milton having placed the comma after *Eurynome*, and not after the *wide-encroaching*. And beſides ſome epithet ſhould be added to *Eve* to ſhow the ſimilitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other; and therefore, in alluſion to the name of *Eurynome*, he ſtyles Eve *the wide-encroaching*, as extending her rule and dominion further than ſhe ſhould over her huſband, and affecting Godhead. This explanation may be further confirmed and illuſtrated by the following note of the learned Mr. Jortin. "Milton took this ſtory from Apollonius I, who is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary, under the word *Ophion.* Prometheus in Æſchylus, ver. 956, ſays that two Gods had borne rule before Jupiter: where the Scholiaſt; Ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Ὀφίων καὶ Εὐρυνόμη· ἔπειτα Κρόνος καὶ Ῥέα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἥρα. Others will have it that Οὐρανος and Γῆ reigned firſt. I think the epithet *wide-encroaching* belongs to *Eve*, not to *Eurynome.* He calls *Eve wide-encroaching*, becauſe, as he tells us, ſhe wanted to be ſuperiour to her huſband, to be a Goddeſs &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 586. ——————— *Sin, there in power before,*
Once actual; now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant;] The ſenſe is, That, before the

Cloſe following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horſe: to whom Sin thus began.
Second of Satan ſprung, all-conquering Death!
What think'ſt thou of our empire now, though earn'd
With travel difficult, not better far
Than ſtill at Hell's dark threſhold to have ſat watch,
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyſelf half ſtarv'd?
Whom thus the Sin-born monſter anſwer'd ſoon.
To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is Hell, or Paradiſe, or Heaven;
There beſt, where moſt with ravine I may meet;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little ſeems
To ſtuff this maw, this vaſt unhide-bound corps.

Fall, Sin was *in power*, or potentially in Paradiſe; that *once*, viz. upon the Fall, it was actually there, though not bodily; but that *now*, upon its arrival in Paradiſe, it was there in *body*, and dwelt as a conſtant inhabitant. The words *in body* allude to what St. Paul ſays *Rom.* vi. 6. "that the *body of ſin* might be deſtroyed." PEARCE.

Ver. 589. ——————— *Not mounted yet*
On his pale horſe:] Milton has given a fine turn to this poetical thought, by ſaying that Death had *not* mounted *yet* on his pale horſe: For, though he was to have a long and all-conquering power, he had not *yet* begun, neither was he for ſome time, to put it in execution. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 600. *Which here, though plenteous, all too little ſeems*
To ſtuff this maw,] Compare *Prov.* xxvii. 30.

To whom the inceſtuous mother thus replied.
Thou therefore on theſe herbs, and fruits, and flowers,
Feed firſt; on each beaſt next, and fiſh, and fowl;
No homely morſels! and, whatever thing
The ſithe of Time mows down, devour unſpar'd;
Till I, in Man reſiding, through the race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect;
And ſeaſon him thy laſt and ſweeteſt prey.
This ſaid, they both betook them ſeveral ways,
Both to deſtroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for deſtruction to mature
Sooner or later; which the Almighty ſeeing,

"Hell and deſtruction are never full; ſo the eyes of man are never ſatisfied." There are ſome parts of this deſcription of Death by Milton, not diſſimilar to Browne's perſonification of Famine, *Brit. Paſt.* B. ii. S. i.

"His *unfil'd ſkin* hung dangling on his breaſt:
"His feeble knees with paine enough vphold
"That *pined carkaſſe*, caſten in a mould
"Cut out by Death's grim forme ——
"The more his vyands, *more his appetite:*
"Whate'er the deepes bring forth, or earth, or ayre,
"He *ravine* ſhould, and *want in greateſt fare.*" TODD.

Ver. 601. —————— *this vaſt unhide-bound corps.*] It is ſtrange how Dr. Bentley and others have puzzled this paſſage. The meaning is plain enough. For Death, though lean, is yet deſcribed as a vaſt monſter in the ſecond book. And his ſkin was not tight-braced, and did not look ſleek and ſmooth, as when creatures are ſwoln and full; but hung looſe about him, and was capable of containing a great deal without being diſtended. NEWTON.

From his tranſcendent ſeat the Saints among,
To thoſe bright Orders utter'd thus his voice.
See, with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance

Ver. 616. *See, with what heat theſe* dogs of Hell *advance* &c.] We may be certain, I think, that Milton had his eye upon this paſſage in Sophocles, *Electra* v. 1499.

Ἰδεῦ' ὅπῃ προτέμνεται
Τὸ δυστέριστον αἷμα φυσῶν Ἄρης·
Βεβᾶσι δ' ἄρτι δωμάτων ὑπόστεγοι
Μεταδρόμοι κακῶν πανουργημάτων,
Ἀφυκτοι κύνες.

And may we not ſuppoſe that he alluded alſo to Shakſpeare's *Jul. Cæſar*, A. iii. S. i.

" And Cæſar's ſpirit, ranging for revenge,
" With Até by his ſide, come hot from hell,
" Shall in theſe confines, with a monarch's voice,
" Cry *Havock*, and let ſlip the dogs of war."

Homer often puts ſuch language into the mouths of his gods and heroes; and there are ſome ſuch expreſſions in Scripture. " For *dogs* have compaſſed me," *Pſalm* xxii. 16. " They are greedy *dogs*," Iſaiah lvi. 11. " Beware of *dogs*," Phil. iii. 2. " Without are *dogs*," Rev. xxii. 15. Thus far perhaps Milton may be juſtified; but, in ſome other parts of this ſpeech, the metaphors are wonderfully coarſe indeed; and ſeem to be beneath the dignity of an epick poem, and much more unbecoming the majeſty of the Divine Speaker; unleſs they may be vindicated by the following paſſage in Scripture, which is expreſſed by the Son of God himſelf, " I will ſpew thee out of my mouth," *Rev.* iii. 16. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton might have added, that the *dogs of Hell* is an expreſſion in Apollonius, *Argon.* iv. 1666.

——————— Θέλγε δὲ κῆρας
Θυμοδόρους, Ἀΐδαο θοὰς ΚΥΝΑΣ, αἳ περὶ πασαν
Ἤερα δινεύσαι ἐπὶ ζωοῖσιν ἄγενται.

Mr. Stillingfleet alſo refers to this paſſage, and to thoſe in Scrip-

To waſte and havock yonder world, which I
So fair and good created; and had ſtill
Kept in that ſtate, had not the folly of Man
Let in theſe waſteful furies, who impute
Folly to me; ſo doth the Prince of Hell
And his adherents, that with ſo much eaſe
I ſuffer them to enter and poſſeſs
A place ſo heavenly; and, conniving, ſeem
To gratify my ſcornful enemies,
That laugh, as if, tranſported with ſome fit
Of paſſion, I to them had quitted all,
At random yielded up to their miſrule;
And know not that I call'd, and drew them thither,
My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
Which Man's polluting ſin with taint hath ſhed
On what was pure; till, cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh burſt
With ſuck'd and glutted offal, at one ſling
Of thy victorious arm, well-pleaſing Son,
Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave, at laſt,

ture already cited. Mr. Dunſter notices the expreſſion *hell-dogs* in Sylveſter's invocation, and imprecation, prefixed to his Panthea. TODD.

Ver. 631. ——————————— hath *ſhed*] Fenton reads after Tickell, "*had* ſhed." TODD.

Ver. 633. ——————————— *at one* ſling &c.] A phraſe ſuggeſted perhaps by 1 *Sam.* xxv. 29. "The ſouls of thine enemies, them ſhall he *ſling* out as out of a middle of a *ſling*." TODD.

Ver. 635. *Both Sin, and* Death, *and yawning* Grave,] *Death* and the *Grave* meaning the ſame is a pleonaſm; which, adding

Through Chaos hurl'd, obſtruct the mouth of Hell
For ever, and ſeal up his ravenous jaws.
Then Heaven and Earth renew'd ſhall be made pure
To ſanctity, that ſhall receive no ſtain:
Till then, the curſe pronounc'd on both precedes.
He ended, and the heavenly audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the ſound of ſeas,

force and energy, and calling forth the attention, is a beauty common in the beſt writers; but not for that reaſon only has Milton uſed it: the Scripture has thus joined Death and the *Grave*, Hoſ. xiii. 14, 1 *Cor.* xv. 55, and *Rev.* xx. 13, where the word rendered *Hell* ſignifies alſo the *Grave*. RICHARDSON.

Compare Shakſpeare, *Jul. Cæſar*, A. ii. S. ii. "And *graves* have *yawn'd*, and yielded up their dead." TODD.

Ver. 636. ——— *obſtruct the the mouth of Hell*
For ever,] Mr. Boyd, the learned and elegant tranſlator of Dante's *Inferno*, is of opinion, that the ſublime imagination of Dante, *That the earthquake, which attended the crucifixion, overthrew the infernal ramparts, and obſtructed the way to Hell*, gave the hint to Milton, that Sin and Death firſt built the infernal bridge, whoſe partial ruin at leaſt was the conſequence of the reſurrection. See the *Inferno*, C. xxiii. TODD.

Ver. 640. *Till then, the curſe pronounc'd* on both precedes.] *On both*, that is on *Heaven and Earth* mentioned in ver. 638; the Heaven and Earth that were polluted, and *ſhall be made pure to ſanctity*. But ſhould we read *precedes* or *proceeds* with Dr. Bentley? And is the meaning (as Mr. Richardſon explains it) that the curſe pronounc'd ſhall go before thoſe ravagers Sin and Death, and ſhall direct and lead them on? Or the curſe ſhall *proceed*, ſhall go on, ſhall continue till the conſummation of all things, and Heaven and Earth ſhall be reſtor'd? NEWTON.

Ver. 641. *He ended, and the heavenly audience loud*
Sung Hallelujah,] Dr. Bentley reads *and to him the audience loud* &c.; without this (ſays he) it is not ſaid *to whom*

Through multitude that ſung: Juſt are thy ways,
Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
Who can extenuate thee? Next, to the Son,
Deſtin'd Reſtorer of mankind, by whom
New Heaven and Earth ſhall to the ages riſe,
Or down from Heaven deſcend.—Such was their ſong;
While the Creator, calling forth by name
His mighty Angels, gave them ſeveral charge,
As ſorted beſt with preſent things. The ſun
Had firſt his precept ſo to move, ſo ſhine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat

they ſung; and the words *Next, to the Son*, ver. 645, ſhow that they ſung before *to him*, to the Father. But this objection is founded upon the Doctor's not obſerving the force of the word *Halleluiah*, where *Jah* ſignifies *to God*, the Father; and therefore there was no need of *to him*. See B. vii. 634. NEWTON.

Ver. 643. ——————— *Juſt are thy ways*, &c.] The ſame ſong, ſays Dr. Newton, that they are repreſented ſinging in the Revelation, *Rev.* xv. 3, and *Rev.* xvi. 7. As in the foregoing paſſage, which is remarked alſo by Addiſon, he alluded to *Rev.* xix. 6. TODD.

Ver. 647. *New Heaven and Earth ſhall to the ages riſe*, &c.] Heaven and Earth is the Jewiſh phraſe to expreſs our world; and the *new Heaven and Earth* muſt certainly be the ſame with that mentioned juſt before, v. 638. And they *ſhall to the ages riſe*, to the Millennium, to the *aurea fœcula*, as they are called, or to *ages of endleſs date*, as he elſewhere expreſſes it, B. xii. 549. *Shall riſe*; for ſometimes he ſpeaks of them as *rais'd from the conflagrant maſs*, B. xii. 547. And *ſpringing from the aſhes*, B. iii. 334. *Or down from Heaven deſcend*; for St. John deſcribes *the holy city, the new Jeruſalem*, Rev. xxi. 2. as *coming down from God out of Heaven*. NEWTON.

Scarce tolerable; and from the north to call
Decrepit winter; from the ſouth to bring 655
Solſtitial ſummer's heat. To the blanc moon

Ver. 655. *Decrepit winter*;] Alluding perhaps to Spenſer's deſcription of winter, under the figure of a decrepit old man, *Faer. Qu.* vii. vii. 31. THYER.

The expreſſion occurs, as doctor Newton obſerves, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wife for a Month:*

" *Decrepit winter* hang upon my ſhoulders."

And in Habington's *Caſtara*, 1635, p. 62. " To the *Winter*." " Why doſt *thou* looke ſo pale, *decrepit man*?" Which paſſage will ſupport alſo Mr. Thyer's remark. Donne, in his *Poems*, 1633, p. 123, has " the year's cold and *decrepit* time," where he means Chriſtmas. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *from the* ſouth to bring
Solſtitial ſummer's heat.] Have a care, ſays Dr. Bentley, of going too far *ſouth* to bring *ſummer's heat*, the regions near the ſouthern pole being as cold as thoſe near the northern: he therefore reads

———————" from the *torrid zone*
" Solſtitial ſummer's heat."

But the word *ſolſtitial* ſeems ſufficiently to determine, from how far *ſouth* Milton meant that this *ſummer's heat* was brought; namely, ſo far from the ſouth as the ſun is, when he is in the ſummer's ſolſtice, or about 23 degrees and a half ſouthward. The ancient poets repreſent the ſouth as the region of heat. Statius, *Theb.* i. 160.

———" aut Boreâ gelidas, madidive tepentes
" Igne Noti."

And Lucan, very extravagantly, i. 54.

" Nec polus adverſi calidus quà vergitur Auſtri." JORTIN.

Ver. 656. ——————— *To the* blanc *moon*] The *pale-faced* moon, as Hume obſerves, from the French *blanc*, white. So, as Dr. Newton adds, Virgil calls her " *candida* luna," *Æn.* vii. 8;

Her office they preſcribed; to the other five
Their planetary motions, and aſpects,
In ſextile, ſquare, and trine, and oppoſite,
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In ſynod unbenign; and taught the fix'd
Their influence malignant when to ſhower,
Which of them riſing with the ſun, or falling,
Should prove tempeſtuous: To the winds they ſet

and the Italian poets, "*bianca* luna." Thus, in *Canzon.* del Giuſtiniano, 1620, p. 12.

"E *bianca* Cintia in negro ciel parea."

Compare alſo B. i. 787, where "the moon wheels her *pale* courſe." Again, B. iii. 732. "And in her *pale* dominion checks the night." TODD.

Ver. 659. *In ſextile*, &c.] If an unneceſſary oſtentation of learning be, as Addiſon obſerves, one of Milton's faults, it certainly muſt be an aggravation of it, where he not only introduces, but countenances, ſuch enthuſiaſtick unphiloſophical notions as this jargon of the aſtrologers is made up of. THYER.

Ver. 663. *Which of them riſing with the ſun, or falling,*
Should prove tempeſtuous:] Written probably not without an eye to Virgil, *Georg.* i. 335.

"Hoc metuens, cœli menſes et ſidera ſerva:
"Frigida Saturni ſeſe quo ſtella receptet;
"Quos ignis cœli Cyllenius erret in orbes.—
"Ipſe Pater ſtatuit, quid menſtrua Luna moneret;
"Quo ſigno caderent Auſtri." NEWTON.

It is probable that Milton rather conſulted the Grecian aſtrologer and poet, Aratus; who, in his Φαινόμενα and Διοσήμεια, diſcuſſes this ſubject more fully, and to whom Virgil's lines owe their origin. TODD.

Ver. 664.] Dr. Bentley would here read,

Their corners, when with bluſter to confound 665
Sea, air, and ſhore; the thunder when to roll
With terrour through the dark aëreal hall.
Some ſay, he bid his Angels turn aſcanſe

——————" To the winds they *gave*
" Their *orders*, when with bluſter to confound
" Sea, air, and ſhore: *To* thunder when to roll
" With terrour through the *wide* aëreal hall."

Let us hear his reaſons for altering the text. The *winds*, (ſays he) as diſtinguiſhed from one another, had their *corners* and quarters ſet before the Fall: but this aſſertion is directly contrary to what Milton tells us in ver. 695, &c. He aſks what is meant by *their corners*, when *with bluſter to confound?* But the ſentence is to be thus ſupplied; *ſet their corners*, and taught them *when with bluſter* &c. and the ſame ellipſis we have in ver. 660. Or, if this ſhould not be approved of, I had much rather read (as the doctor propoſes) *ſet their corners*, whence *with bluſter to confound.—the thunder* whence *to roll.* It may be wondered at, how the doctor came in the next verſe to change *the thunder when to roll*, into, *To thunder, when to roll;* ſince *roll* is plainly an active verb here, and *thunder* is the accuſative caſe after it. As little reaſon has he to change *dark* in the laſt verſe into *wide:* for ſince he allows that the *aereal hall* or ſky is *darkened* by the clouds that attend and cauſe *thunder*, the ſky may as well be ſaid in poetry to be then *dark*, as *darkened.*

PEARCE.

I cannot perſuade myſelf, that Milton intended by any means to deſcribe the *winds rolling the thunder.* Let the reader, of any taſte or feeling, judge how it ſinks the merit of the paſſage; which is eminently ſublime, when we conſider the Angels under the commands of the Almighty introducing ſtorms and tempeſts into the world, and appointing

——————" the thunder when to roll
" With terrour through the dark aëreal hall." DUNSTER.

Ver. 668. *Some ſay, he bid his Angels* &c.] It was *eternal*

The poles of earth, twice ten degrees and more,
From the ſun's axle; they with labour puſh'd 670

ſpring (B. iv. 268.) before the Fall: and he is now accounting for the change of ſeaſons after the Fall, and mentions the two famous hypotheſes. *Some ſay* it was occaſioned by altering the poſition of the earth, by turning the poles of the earth above 20 degrees aſide from the ſun's orb, *he bid his Angels turn aſcanſe the poles of the earth twice ten degrees and more from the ſun's axle;* and the poles of the earth are about 23 degrees and a half diſtant from thoſe of the ecliptick; *they with labour puſh'd oblique the centrick globe*, it was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the *obliquity* of a ſphere is the proper aſtronomical term, when the pole is raiſed any number of degrees leſs than 90; *the centrick globe* fixed on its center and therefore moved *with labour* and difficulty, or rather *centrick*, as being the center of the world, according to the Ptolemaick ſyſtem, which our author uſually follows.

Some ſay again this change was occaſioned by altering the courſe of the ſun, *the ſun was bid to turn reins from the equinoctial road* in which he had moved before, *like diſtant breadth* in both hemeſpheres, *to Taurus with the ſeven Atlantick Siſters*, the conſtellation Taurus with the ſeven ſtars in his neck, the Pleiades daughters of Atlas, *and the Spartan Twins*, the ſign Gemini, Caſtor and Pollux, twin-brothers, and ſons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, *up to the Tropick Crab*, the tropick of Cancer, the ſun's fartheſt ſtage northwards; *thence down amain*, Dr. Bentley reads *as much*, as much on one ſide of the equator as the other, but if any alteration were neceſſary it is eaſier to read thence *down again*, *by Leo and the Virgin*, the ſign Virgo, *and the Scales*, the conſtellation Libra, *as deep as Capricorn*, the tropick of Capricorn which is the ſun's fartheſt progreſs ſouthwards. This motion of the ſun in the ecliptick occaſions the variety of ſeaſons, *elſe had the ſpring perpetual ſmil'd on earth with vernant flowers*, if the ſun had continued to move in the equator. It is likewiſe Dr. Burnet's aſſertion, that the primitive earth enjoyed a perpetual ſpring, and for the ſame reaſon of the ſun's moving in the equator. But though this notion of a perpetual ſpring may be very pleaſing in poetry, yet it is very falſe in philoſophy; and

Oblique the centrick globe: Some ſay, the ſun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
Like diſtant breadth to Taurus with the ſeven
Atlantick Siſters, and the Spartan Twins,
Up to the Tropick Crab: thence down amain
By Leo, and the Virgin, and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn; to bring in change
Of ſeaſons to each clime; elſe had the ſpring
Perpetual ſmil'd on earth with vernant flowers,
Equal in days and nights, except to thoſe
Beyond the polar circles; to them day
Had unbenighted ſhone, while the low ſun,
To recompenſe his diſtance, in their ſight
Had rounded ſtill the horizon, and not known
Or eaſt or weſt; which had forbid the ſnow
From cold Eſtotiland, and ſouth as far
Beneath Magellan. At that taſted fruit

this poſition of the earth ſo far from being the beſt is one of the worſt it could have, as Dr. Keill hath proved excellently well in the fourth chapter of his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth.* NEWTON.

Ver. 673. ———— to *Taurus*] Dr. Bentley reads "*through* Taurus;" through it and Gemini, up to Cancer. Pope approves this emendation; and it ſeems probable; *through* Taurus, and *by* Leo, afterwards anſwering to each other. NEWTON.

Ver. 686. ———— *Eſtotiland,*] A great tract of land in the north of America, towards the Arctick Circle and Hudſon's Bay; as *Magellan* is a country in South America, which together with its ſtraits took their name of Ferdinandus Magellanus a Portugueſe, who in the year 1520 firſt diſcovered them. HUME.

Ver. 687. ———— *At that taſted fruit*

The ſun, as from Thyéſtean banquet, turn'd
His courſe intended; elſe, how had the world
Inhabited, though ſinleſs, more than now,
Avoided pinching cold and ſcorching heat?
Theſe changes in the Heavens, though ſlow, produc'd

The ſun, as from Thyéſtean banquet, turn'd &c.] Thyeſtes and Atreus, brethren, hated each other outrageouſly; the firſt in ſpite lay with the wife of Atreus, but he, having gotten his brother's children in his power, pretended a deſire of reconciliation, and invited him to a banquet. Thyeſtes, that he might ſee his children, diſſembling his augmented malice, came; the feaſt being over, his brother let him know he had been entertained with the fleſh of his ſons, and their blood mixed with the wine, and ſhowed him the ſad proof of what he had told him, their heads and hands, which he had reſerved for that purpoſe. At this the ſun is ſaid to have turned away, as Milton here ſays he did when the more dreadful banquet was made on the fruit of the forbidden tree. RICHARDSON.

We may further obſerve that it is called the *Thyeſtean banquet*, though made not by him, but only for him: and Euripides in like manner calls it, δεῖπνα Θυέστου, Oreſt. v. 1010; and Horace, *cœna Thyeſtæ*, De Art. Poet. v. 91. And Pope would read here *Thyeſtes*.' NEWTON.

Dr. Bentley alſo objects to *Thyéſtean* for *Thyeſtéan;* but Dr. Pearce, who ſhows that Milton uſes *Æ'gean* for *Ægéan*, B. i. 745, and *Chaly'bean* for *Chalybéan*, in *Samſon Agoniſtes*, v. 133, obſerves, that inſtances of ſuch a poetical liberty may be found in the beſt ancient poets, as well as in the modern. Compare the *Electra* of Euripides with the paſſage before us, ver. 737. ed. Barnes.

Λέγεται [ſcil. Ζεὺς]
Στρέψαι θερμὰ ἀελίου
Χρύσωπον ἕδραν αλλαξαι—
Γα δυσυχίᾳ βροτείῳ,
Θυατᾶς ἕνεκεν δίκας. TODD.

Like change on ſea and land; ſideral blaſt,
Vapour, and miſt, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt and peſtilent: Now from the north
Of Norumbega, and the Samoed ſhore,
Burſting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice,
And ſnow, and hail, and ſtormy guſt and flaw,
Boreas, and Cæcias, and Argeſtes loud,

Ver. 696. *Of* Norumbega, *and the* Samoed ſhore,] *Norumbega*, a province of the northern America. *Samoieda*, a province in the north-eaſt of Muſcovy, upon the frozen ſea. HUME.

Ver. 697. ——— their *brazen* dungeon,] "*Ventorum carcere*," Virg. *Æn.* i. 141. TODD.

Ibid. ——— arm'd *with ice*, &c.] So Claudian, *De Rapt. Proſ.* i. 69.

——— "ceu turbine rauco
"Cùm gravis *armatur* Boreas, glaciéque nivali."
RICHARDSON.

Ver. 698. ——— *and ſtormy* guſt *and* flaw,] *Guſt* and *flaw*, doctor Newton has obſerved, ſeem to be words much of the ſame import, only *flaw*, he thinks, is the ſtronger; derived, as Junius ſays, from the Greek φλάω, to *break*. He adds, that Shakſpeare uſes both words in his *Venus and Adonis*:

"Like a red morn, that ever yet betoken'd
"*Guſt* and foul *flaws* to herdſmen and to herds."

The forcible application of the word *flaw*, now obſolete, may be alſo illuſtrated from *Arden of Feverſham*, 1599. ſign. G. 3.

——— "were I upon the ſea,
"As oft I haue in many a bitter ſtorme,
"And ſaw a dreadful ſutherne *flaw* at hand,
"The pylate quaking &c." TODD.

Ver. 699. *Boreas, and Cæcias*, &c.] In this account of the winds is a needleſs oſtentation of learning, and a ſtrange mixture of ancient and modern, Latin and Italian, names together. Theſe are the foibles and weak parts of our author. NEWTON.

And Thraſcias, rend the woods, and ſeas upturn;
With adverſe blaſt upturns them from the ſouth
Notus, and Afer black with thunderous clouds
From Serraliona; thwart of theſe, as fierce,
Forth ruſh the Levant and the Ponent winds,
Eurus and Zephyr, with their lateral noiſe,
Sirocco and Libecchio. Thus began
Outrage from lifeleſs things; but Diſcord firſt,
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduc'd, through fierce antipathy:
Beaſt now with beaſt 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fiſh with fiſh; to graze the herb all leaving,

Ver. 711. ———— *to graze the herb* all *leaving*, &c.] The word *all* here makes ſtrange ſenſe of this paſſage, ſince, according to common conſtruction, it implies that beaſts, fowl, and fiſh, all grazed before the Fall, and immediately after it began all to prey upon each other; neither of which could poſſibly be Milton's meaning. How to reſtore the true reading I do not pretend to determine, but the following lines ſeem to confine the devouring to the beaſts, and might not therefore the word *thoſe* be ſubſtituted in the place of *all?* THYER.

Whether Milton's notion was right or not is another queſtion, but certainly it was his notion that *beaſt*, *fowl*, and *fiſh* grazed the herb before the Fall. Of the *beaſts* there can be no doubt; and the *fowl* have the green herb given them for meat as well as the beaſts. Gen. i. 30. *And to every beaſt of the earth, and to every fowl of the air I have given every green herb for meat.* And the gooſe particularly is by the poet who has beſt imitated Milton called *cloſe-grazer*, Philips's *Cyder*, B. i. The greateſt difficulty is with regard to the *fiſh*, but of theſe Milton ſays expreſsly, B. vii. 404, that they "graze the ſea-weed their paſture"—and

Devour'd each other; nor ſtood much in awe
Of Man, but fled him; or, with countenance grim,
Glar'd on him paſſing. Theſe were from without
The growing miſeries, which Adam ſaw
Already in part, though hid in gloomieſt ſhade,
To ſorrow abandon'd, but worſe felt within;
And, in a troubled ſea of paſſion toſt,

therefore, according to this notion, it may be ſaid of fowl and fiſh as well as beaſts,

——"to graze the herb all leaving,
"Devour'd each other"——

But *all* here is not all and every one in particular, but only all in general. Fowl prey upon fowl, and fiſh upon fiſh, as much as beaſt upon beaſt. Beaſt, fowl, and fiſh, all the three kinds, though not all of the three kinds, devour each other. NEWTON.

Ver. 712. —— *nor ſtood much in awe*
Of Man, but fled *him*;] Dr. Bentley reads "but *ſhunn'd* him:" becauſe (he ſays) if they fled him, it was a ſign of *fear*, of more than *awe*. True, and for that very reaſon *fled* is right here; becauſe nothing more ſhows our not ſtanding much in awe of a Man, than our fearing him. *Awe* is a reſpect or reverence paid to one whom we love; and love excludes fear. PEARCE.

Ver. 714. —— *Theſe were from without* &c.] The tranſition to Adam here is very eaſy and natural, and cannot fail of pleaſing the reader. We have ſeen great alterations produced in nature, and it is now time to ſee how Adam is affected with them; and whether the diſorders *within* are not even worſe than thoſe *without*. NEWTON.

Ver. 718. —— in a troubled ſea of paſſion toſt,] Iſaiah lvii. 20. *The wicked are like the troubled ſea.* GREENWOOD.

Thus to diſburden ſought with ſad complaint.
O miſerable of happy! Is this the end
Of this new glorious world, and me ſo late
The glory of that glory, who now become
Accurs'd, of bleſſed? hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
Of happineſs!—Yet well, if here would end
The miſery; I deſerv'd it, and would bear
My own deſervings; but this will not ſerve:
All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,
Is propagated curſe. O voice, once heard
Delightfully, *Encrease and multiply;*

Milton, in his *Colaſterion*, has the following expreſſion: "*Toſt* and tempeſted *in a moſt unquiet ſea of afflictions* and temptations." And, in his *Ch. Government*, B. ii. "To imbark in a *troubled ſea* of noiſes." Compare Carew, in his Poems: "*Toſt in a troubled ſea* of griefs." And Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, 1632. "Brother, I find my ſoul a *troubled ſea*, &c." The *ſea of ſorrow*, or *of evils*, is a frequent expreſſion in the Greek and Latin, as well as in our own, poets. And the emphatick title, given to one of the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſes on Muſick, is *The ſea of paſſions*. See the *Aſiat. Reſearches*, vol. ii. p. 55. TODD.

Ver. 719. *Thus to* diſburden *fought*] A metaphor taken from a ſhip in a tempeſt, unlading, *diſburdening*, to preſeve itſelf from ſinking by its weight. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 724. ——————————— *then*] Here is an elegant and natural elipſis: "then—*when I was innocent*.
STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 728. *All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,*
Is propagated *curſe*.] Meat and drink *propagate* it, by prolonging life; and children, by carrying it on to poſterity. NEWTON.

Now death to hear! for what can I encreaſe,
Or multiply, but curſes on my head?
Who of all ages to ſucceed, but, feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curſe
My head? Ill fare our anceſtor impure,
For this we may thank Adam! but his thanks
Shall be the execration: ſo, beſides
Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
Shall with a fierce reflux on me rebound;
On me, as on their natural center, light
Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys

Ver. 733. *Who of all ages to ſucceed, but, feeling*
The evil on him brought by me, will curſe
My head?] Adam utters ſimilar ſentiments in the *Lacrymæ Adami* of Gazæus, a Jeſuit and Canon of Liege. See his *Pia Hilaria*, Antverp. 1629, vol. i. p. 289.

"Hîc vos congemitis, comploratíſque nepotes;
"Peccavi Radix impia, Rame luis.
"Prô! quoties in me clamabitur, O pater Adam,
"O nimium natis pernicioſe tuis!" TODD.

Ver. 740. *On me, as on their natural center, light*
Heavy, though in their place.] Dr. Bentley has really made ſome very juſt objections to ſeveral lines here together. He finds fault with Adam's not keeping up a due decorum, and in that heavy ſerioufneſs and anxiety leaving his true topicks, and catching at trifles, jingles, and other ſuch prettineſſes. He cenſures him, as Addiſon had done before, for uſing ſuch low phraſes, as *For this we may thank Adam;* and then for ſoaring ſo high inter nubes et inania; *refluxes and natural centers; heavy, though in their place.* Adam, it ſeems, was already a Peripatetick in his notions: he ſuppoſes here, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places: not air in air, not water in water; from which he fetches a pretty lamentation, "That, contrary to the courſe of nature, his afflictions will *weigh heavy* on

Of Paradiſe, dear bought with laſting woes!
Did I requeſt thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me Man? did I ſolicit thee
From darkneſs to promote me, or here place
In this delicious garden? As my will
Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my duſt;
Deſirous to reſign and render back
All I receiv'd; unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I ſought not. To the loſs of that,
Sufficient penalty, why haſt thou added
The ſenſe of endleſs woes? Inexplicable

him, though they be in their *proper place*." Is not he ſorely afflicted (ſays the doctor) that talks at this rate? And yet the worſt of it is, this notion is falſe, and long ſince exploded by the modern philoſophy: water weighs in water, as much as it does out of it. And therefore the doctor is for lopping off with a bold hand ten lines together: and we heartily wiſh indeed that no ſuch paſſages had been admitted into any part of the poem, and eſpecially in ſo fine a ſpeech as this before us, and all that we can ſay for them is,

" Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus." NEWTON.

A part of the foregoing objections is perhaps unreaſonable; for, as Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, whatever reformation philoſophy has made about *bodies weighing in their place*, Milton only followed the notions then in vogue. TODD.

Ver. 743. ——————— *from my clay*
To mould me Man?] *Job* xxxiii. 6. " I alſo am formed out of the clay." BOWLE.

Or from *Iſaiah's* animated expoſtulation, xlv. 9. " Shall the clay ſay to him that faſhioneth it, What makeſt thou?" TODD.

Thy juſtice ſeems; yet, to ſay truth, too late
I thus conteſt; then ſhould have been refus'd
Thoſe terms, whatever, when they were propos'd:
Thou didſt accept them: wilt thou enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions? and, though God
Made thee without thy leave, what if thy ſon
Prove diſobedient; and, reprov'd, retort,
"Wherefore didſt thou beget me? I ſought it not:"
Wouldſt thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuſe? yet him not thy election,
But natural neceſſity, begot.
God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To ſerve him; thy reward was of his grace;
Thy puniſhment then juſtly is at his will.
Be it ſo, for I ſubmit; his doom is fair,
That duſt I am, and ſhall to duſt return:
O welcome hour whenever! Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? Why do I overlive?

Ver. 758. Thou *didſt* &c.] The change of *perſons*, ſometimes ſpeaking of himſelf in the *firſt*, and ſometimes to himſelf in the *ſecond*, is very remarkable in this ſpeech; as well as the change of paſſions. And in like manner he ſpeaks ſometimes *of* God, and ſometimes *to* God. NEWTON.

Ver. 761. ——————— *and, reprov'd, retort,*
Wherefore didſt thou beget me?] Again from Iſaiah, as Mr. Stillingfleet alſo remarks, xlv. 10. "Wo unto him that ſaith unto his father, what begetteſt thou?" TODD.

Ver. 773. *Fix'd on this day?*] For God had ſaid, *In the day*

Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
To deathleſs pain? How gladly would I meet
Mortality my ſentence, and be earth
Inſenſible! How glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap! There I ſhould reſt,
And ſleep ſecure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worſe

that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die, Gen. ii. 17. But it may be queſtioned whether it was now *this day;* for the night of this day is mentioned before in v. 342, and the ſun's riſing is taken notice of in v. 329: But Milton is not always very exact in marking the time; he neglects thoſe little things for greater beauties. NEWTON.

Ver. 773. ——————— *Why do I overlive?*
Why am I mock'd &c.] The ſame impaſſioned and affecting complaint as Spenſer's *Daphnaida*, v. 442.

"Why doo I longer live in lifes deſpight,
"And doo not dye then in deſpight of death;
"Why doo I longer ſee this loathſome light, &c." TODD.

Ver. 778. *As in my* mother's lap!] See alſo B. xi. 537. The phraſe is uſed by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* v. vii. 9.

——"on their *mother Earth's* deare *lap* did lie."

And by Beaumont and Fletcher, *Little Fr. Lawyer*, A. i. S. i.

"Upon our *mother's lap*, the *Earth* that bred us." TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *There I ſhould reſt*, &c.] There are ſome reſemblances in this pathetick ſpeech to thoſe of *Job*, in the third chapter. TODD.

Ver. 779. ——— *his dreadful* voice *no more*
Would thunder *in my ears;*] Perhaps ſuggeſted alſo by *Job* xxxvii. 5. "God *thundereth* marvellouſly with his *voice*." Quarles, in deſcribing the diſtreſs of Adam on hearing the voice of God, ſays, in his *Hiſt. of Samſon*, 1632. Med. 6.

To me, and to my offspring, would torment me
With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
Purſues me ſtill, leſt all I cannot die;
Leſt that pure breath of life, the ſpirit of Man
Which God inſpir'd, cannot together periſh
With this corporeal clod; then, in the grave,
Or in ſome other diſmal place, who knows
But I ſhall die a living death? O thought
Horrid, if true! Yet why? It was but breath
Of life that ſinn'd; what dies but what had life

" The voice, whilere that raviſht with delight
" His joyfull eare, does now alas! affright
" His wounded conſcience with amaze and wonder;
" And what of late was muſicke, now is thunder." TODD.

Ver. 783. ——— *leſt all I cannot die;*] A like expreſſion, as doctor Newton obſerves, in Horace, *Od.* iii. xxx. 6. " Non omnis moriar." And thus Seneca, in *Troad.* " An toti morimur?" So, in Æſchylus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 1061. ed. Schütz.

Πάντως ἐμοί γ' οὐ θανατώσει.

And Compare Herrick's *Heſperides*, 1648. p. 165.

" Thou ſhalt not all die." TODD.

Ver. 784. —— *that pure breath of life, the ſpirit of Man Which God inſpir'd,*] For " The Lord God formed man out of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life, and Man became a living ſoul," *Gen.* ii. 7. And Horace calls it " divinæ particulam auræ," *Sat.* II. ii. 79. NEWTON.

Ver. 788. *But I ſhall die a* living death?] See the notes on *Samſon Agon.* v. 100, where the phraſe, " a living death," is illuſtrated. But the whole expreſſion, in the paſſage before us, to " *die a living death,*" may be found in Stafford's *Niobe*, 1611. Part 2d. p. 107. " The damned liue heer a dying life, and die a liuing death." TODD.

And ſin? The body properly had neither.
All of me then ſhall die: let this appeaſe
The doubt, ſince human reach no further knows.
For though the Lord of all be infinite,
Is his wrath alſo? Be it, Man is not ſo,
But mortal doom'd. How can he exerciſe
Wrath without end on Man, whom death muſt end?
Can he make deathleſs death? That were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himſelf
Impoſſible is held; as argument
Of weakneſs, not of power. Will he draw out,
For anger's ſake, finite to infinite,
In puniſh'd Man, to ſatisfy his rigour,
Satisfied never? That were to extend
His ſentence beyond duſt and Nature's law;
By which all cauſes elſe, according ſtill

Ver. 800. *Impoſſible is held; as argument*
Of weakneſs, not of power.] This is the doctrine of the Schoolmen: but, as it is here ſpoken in the perſon of Adam, we muſt ſuppoſe that it was *held* likewiſe by the Angels, of whom he might have learned it in diſcourſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 804. ——————— *That were to extend*
His ſentence beyond duſt *and nature's law;*] Dr. Bentley propoſes to read—"beyond *juſt* and Nature's law;" but *duſt* is the true reading. Part of the ſentence pronounced upon Adam, B. x. 208, was this, *For duſt thou art, and ſhalt to duſt return.* Hence Adam here argues, that, for God to puniſh him after death, would be to *extend the ſentence beyond duſt*, beyond what he thought implied in the words, *thou ſhalt to duſt return.* See alſo ver. 748, 1085, where Adam ſpeaks of being reduced to duſt, as the final end of him. PEARCE.

Ver. 806. *By which all cauſes elſe*, &c.] All other agents

To the reception of their matter, act;
Not to the extent of their own ſphere. But ſay
That death be not one ſtroke, as I ſuppos'd,
Bereaving ſenſe, but endleſs miſery
From this day onward; which I feel begun
Both in me, and without me; and ſo laſt
To perpetuity;—Ay me! that fear
Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution
On my defenceleſs head; both Death and I
Am found eternal, and incorporate both;

act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the ſubject matter, and not to the utmoſt extent of their own power. An alluſion to another axiom of the ſchools: *Omne efficiens agit ſecundum vires recipientis, non ſuas.* NEWTON.

Ver. 813. ——— *that fear*
Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution
On my defenceleſs head;] The thought is fine as it is natural. The ſinner may invent never ſo many arguments in favour of the annihilation and utter extinction of the ſoul; but, after all his ſubterfuges and evaſions, the fear of a future ſtate and the dread of everlaſting puniſhment will ſtill purſue him: he may put it off for a time, but it will return *with dreadful revolution;* and, let him affect what ſerenity and gaiety he pleaſes, will notwithſtanding, in the midſt of it all, *come thundering back on his defenceleſs head.* NEWTON.

Ver. 815. ——— *both Death and I*
Am *found eternal,*] Dr. Bentley's emendation is, "Both Death and I *are* found eternal;" for all languages, he obſerves, agree, that when ſingular and plural are ſo joined, the latter muſt govern; and he pronounces *am* the blunder of the printer, though all editions patroniſe it. In my firſt edition of Milton's Poetical Works I admitted the critick's correction into the text. But I have ſince found the poet's own reading ſupported by Shakſpeare, in *As you like it*, A. i. S. iii.

———" Roſalind lacks then the love,
" Which teacheth thee that *thou* and *I am* one." TODD.

Nor I on my part ſingle; in me all
Poſterity ſtands curs'd: Fair patrimony
That I muſt leave ye, Sons! O, were I able
To waſte it all myſelf, and leave ye none!
So diſinherited, how would you bleſs
Me, now your curſe! Ah, why ſhould all mankind,
For one man's fault, thus guiltleſs be condemn'd,
If guiltleſs? But from me what can proceed,
But all corrupt; both mind and will deprav'd
Not to do only, but to will the ſame
With me? How can they then acquitted ſtand
In ſight of God? Him, after all diſputes,
Forc'd I abſolve: all my evaſions vain,
And reaſonings, though through mazes, lead me ſtill
But to my own conviction: firſt and laſt
On me, me only, as the ſource and ſpring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath! Fond wiſh! couldſt thou ſupport
That burden, heavier than the earth to bear;

Ver. 816. ——— *and incorporate both;*] Lodged both together in one mortal body, as St. Paul ſays, *Rom.* vii. 20. "Oh wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?" HUME.

Ver. 817. *Nor I on my part ſingle; in me all*
Poſterity ſtands curs'd:] And this curſe was the *patrimony* which he was to leave his ſons. The author had in view 11 *Eſdr.* vii. 48. "O thou Adam what haſt thou done? for though it was thou that ſinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee." NEWTON.

Than all the world much heavier, though divided
With that bad Woman? Thus, what thou deſir'ſt,
And what thou fear'ſt, alike deſtroys all hope
Of refuge, and concludes thee miſerable
Beyond all paſt example and future;
To Satan only like both crime and doom.
O Conſcience! into what abyſs of fears
And horrours haſt thou driven me; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!
Thus Adam to himſelf lamented loud,
Through the ſtill night; not now, as ere Man fell,

Ver. 840. *Beyond all paſt example, and future;*] As Adam is here ſpeaking in great agonies of mind, he aggravates his own miſery, and concludes it to be greater and worſe than that of the fallen Angels, or all future men; as having in himſelf alone the ſource of miſery for all his poſterity; whereas both Angels and Men had only their own to bear. Satan was only like him, as being the ring-leader; and this added very much to his remorſe as we read in B. i. 605. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *future;*] With the ſame accent as in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, C. xvii. ſt. 88.

" But not by art, or ſkill, of things *future*
" Can the plaine troath reuealed be and told." NEWTON.

Ver. 846. *Through the ſtill night,*] We can hardly ſuppoſe this to be the night immediately after the Fall; for *that night* Satan overheard Adam and Eve diſcourſing together, ver. 341.

——————" return'd
" *By night*, and liſtening where the hapleſs pair
" Sat in their ſad diſcourſe, and various plaint,
" Thence gather'd his own doom;"

and the next morning, *while the ſun in Aries roſe*, ver. 329, he met Sin and Death in their way to earth; they diſcourſe together, and it was after Sin and Death were arrived in Paradiſe, that the

Wholeſome, and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied; with damps, and dreadful gloom;
Which to his evil conſcience repreſented
All things with double terrour: On the ground
Outſtretch'd he lay, on the cold ground; and oft
Curs'd his creation; Death as oft accus'd
Of tardy execution, ſince denounc'd
The day of his offence. Why comes not Death,
Said he, with one thrice-acceptable ſtroke
To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
Juſtice Divine not haſten to be juſt?
But Death comes not at call; Juſtice Divine

Almighty made that ſpeech from ver. 616, to ver. 641; and, after that, the Angels are ordered to make the changes in nature: ſo that this, we conceive, muſt be ſome other night than that immediately after the Fall. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ——————— *on the ground*
Outſtretch'd he lay, on the cold ground;] See Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 26, and compare Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 53.

" The *cold earth* was his couch."

Again, vi. iv. 40.

" On the *cold ground* maugre himſelfe he threw."

And Drayton, *Muſes Elyz.* Nimph. iv.

" Is the *cold ground* become thy bed?" TODD.

Ver. 854. ——————— *Why comes not Death,*——
But Death comes not at call,] Sophocles, *Philoct.* v. 793.

Ὦ Θάνατε, Θάνατε, πῶς ἀεὶ καλούμενος
Οὕτω κατ' ἦμαρ, οὐ δύνῃ μολεῖν ποτέ; NEWTON.

See alſo Spenſer's *Daphnaida*, v. 355.

" But Heavens refuſe to hear a wretch's cry,
" And cruel *Death* doth ſcorn to *come at call.*" TODD.

Mends not her ſloweſt pace for prayers or cries.
O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bowers!
With other echo late I taught your ſhades
To anſwer, and reſound far other ſong.—
Whom thus afflicted when ſad Eve beheld,
Deſolate where ſhe ſat, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce paſſion ſhe aſſay'd:

Ver. 859. ——— *her ſloweſt pace*] "Pede Pœna claudo," Hor. *Od.* III. ii. 32. The moſt beautiful paſſages commonly want the feweſt notes: And, for the beauties of this paſſage, we are ſure, the reader muſt not only perceive, but really feel, them, if he has any feeling at all. Nothing in all the ancient tragedies is more moving and pathetick. NEWTON.

Ver. 860. *O woods, O fountains,* hillocks, *dales, and bowers,*] Fenton propoſes, ſtrangely enough, to read, inſtead of *hillocks,* "hills, rocks," v. 860. The addreſs in this line, is after the manner of the Italian poets. Thus Petrarch. *Canz.* viii. parte prima:

"*O poggi, o valli, o fiumi, o ſelve, o campi,*
"O teſtimon della mia grave vita, &c."

See alſo *Canzon.* del Giuſtiniano, 1620, p. 320.

"*O monte, o prato, o fonte, o erbe, o fiori,*
"O teſtimonii del mio foco acerbo, &c." TODD.

Ver. 861. *With other echo late I* taught *your* ſhades
To anſwer, and reſound *far other ſong.*] Alluding to part of Adam's morning hymn, B. v. 202.

"Witneſs if I be ſilent, morn or even,
"To hill or valley, fountain, or freſh ſhade,
"Made vocal by my ſong, and taught his praiſe."
THYER.

This teaching the groves to reſound the ſong, is palpably Virgil's, *Ecl.* i. 5.

"Formoſam *reſonare doces* Amaryllida *ſilvas*." DUNSTER.

But her with ſtern regard he thus repell'd.
Out of my ſight, thou Serpent! That name beſt
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyſelf as falſe
And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy ſhape,
Like his, and colour ſerpentine, may ſhow
Thy inward fraud; to warn all creatures from thee
Henceforth; leſt that too heavenly form, pretended
To helliſh falſhood, ſnare them! But for thee
I had perſiſted happy; had not thy pride

Ver. 872. ——— *leſt that too heavenly form*, &c.] It is highly probable, that Milton, in this ſpeech of Adam's, conſulted Swetnam's "Arrangement of lewd, idle, &c. women," printed in 1615. The paſſage, *That too heavenly form, pretended to helliſh falſehood*, is an antitheſis exactly ſimilar and almoſt in the ſame words with what occurs in p. 4 of this work: "For a woman that hath a faire face, it is ever matched with a cruel heart, and *her heavenly looks with helliſh thoughts*." BOWLE.

Ibid. ——————— pretended
To] *Pretended to* ſignifies here, as in the Latin tongue, *held* or *placed before:* So we have in Virgil, *Georg.* i. 270. "Segeti *prætendere* ſepem;" and "*Prætentáque* Syrtibus arva," *Æn.* vi. 60. So Pliny, in his Epiſtles, Lib. i. Ep. xvi. "Nec deſidiæ noſtræ *prætendamus* alienam." PEARCE.

Milton himſelf explains this phraſe, p. 809. Tol. edit. "But eccleſiaſtical is ever *pretended to* political." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 874. ——————— *had not thy* pride &c.] On the *pride* of Eve, as productive of her fall, Malipiero thus comments: "Ma il peccato della prima donna fù ſenza dubbio di *ſuperbia*, perche ſubito, ch'l ſerpente diſſe ad Eua, (perche comandò a voi Dio, &c.) ella laſciandoſi inſurger nell' animo vn certo modo d' alterigia; parendole d' eſſer tenuta troppo allacciata dalla legge; deſiderando viver libera à ſuo capriccio, e non aſſog-

And wandering vanity, when leaſt was ſafe,
Rejected my forewarning, and diſdain'd
Not to be truſted; longing to be ſeen,
Though by the Devil himſelf; him overweening
To over-reach; but, with the ſerpent meeting,
Fool'd and beguil'd; by him thou, I by thee
To truſt thee from my ſide; imagin'd wiſe,
Conſtant, mature, proof againſt all aſſaults;
And underſtood not all was but a ſhow,
Rather than ſolid virtue; all but a rib
Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
More to the part ſiniſter, from me drawn;

gettata ad alcuno s' inaffiò al ſicuro d' vna ventoſa elleuata, e ſproporzioneuole ſuperbia, &c." *Eva*, 12mo. 1640, p. 90. TODD.

Ver. 883. *And underſtood not*] The conſtruction is, I was fool'd and beguil'd by thee, and underſtood not &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 884. ——————— *all but a rib*
Crooked by nature.] Let us hear Swetnam, ſpeaking of Women—"Hee [Moſes] alſo ſaith, that they were made of the ribbe of a man, and *that* their froward nature ſheweth; for a *ribbe* is a *crooked thing*, good for nothing elſe; and women are crooked by nature." p. 1. BOWLE.

Ver. 886. *More to the part* ſiniſter,] 'Tis part of the direction of the matrimonial office in the Sarum Miſſal—"Vir autem ſtet a *dextris* mulieris, Mulier autem a *ſiniſtris* viri: Cauſa eſt, quia formata fuit ex coſta *ſiniſtri* lateris Adæ." See Nicholls on the Common Prayer, Add. Notes, p. 61. To this may be added what Alcimus Avitus ſays of the Almighty's formation of the woman, lib. i. ver. 156.

——— "coſtarum ex offibus, unam
"Subducit *læro* latere. BOWLE.

Well if thrown out, as ſupernumerary
To my juſt number found. O! why did God,

Malipiero, in his *Eva*, makes a long digreſſion on this circumſtance, and among other inferences ſtates that the formation of the woman from the *left* ſide aptly denotes *feminine weakneſs;* "Ma vò anche diuiſando frà me ſteſſo, che la coſtruzione d' Eua dal *lato ſiniſtro* d'Adamo, fia ſtata la maniera propria *per figurar la debolezza donneſca*, mentre la parte ſiniſtra al ſicuro à più dell' altra inferme e impotente," ed. ſupr. p. 50. The ſame author is afterwards as profuſe almoſt, as Milton here, in condemning the over-weening and too facile diſpoſition of the fallen mother of mankind. TODD.

Ver. 887. *Well if thrown out,*] Dr. Newton obſerves, that ſome writers have been of opinion that Adam had *thirteen* ribs on the left ſide, one more than his *juſt number;* and that from this *ſupernumerary* rib God formed Eve: Hence Adam is made to ſay, "It was well if this rib was thrown out, &c."

Ver. 888. ———————— *O! why did God*, &c.] This thought was originally of Euripides, who makes Hippolytus in like manner expoſtulate with Jupiter, for not creating man without women. *Hippol.* v. 616.

Ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ, κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν,
Γυναῖκας εἰς φῶς ἡλίου κατῴκισας;
Εἰ γὰρ βρότειον ἤθελες σπεῖραι γένος,
Οὐκ ἐκ γυναικῶν χρὴν παραστχέσθαι τόδε. κ. τ. λ.

Jaſon talks in the ſame ſtrain in the *Medea*, v. 573, &c. And ſuch ſentiments as theſe, we ſuppoſe, procured Euripides the name of *The woman-hater.* Arioſto, however, has ventured upon the ſame in Rhodomont's invective againſt women, *Orl. Fur.* C. xxvii. ſt. 120. Nor are ſimilar examples wanting among our Engliſh authors. Sir Thomas Brown, in the ſecond part of his *Religio Medici*, ſect. 9, has ſomething very curious to this purpoſe, which, no doubt, Milton had read, that work having been firſt publiſhed in 1642. Shakſpeare alſo makes Poſthumus cry out, in reſentment of Imogen's behaviour, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v.

"Is there no way for men to be, but women
"Muſt be half-workers?" NEWTON.

Creator wiſe, that peopled higheſt Heaven
With Spirits maſculine, create at laſt
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With Men, as Angels, without feminine;
Or find ſome other way to generate
Mankind? This miſchief had not been befallen,
And more that ſhall befall; innumerable
Diſturbances on earth through female ſnares,
And ſtrait conjunction with this ſex: for either

Miſogynos, in the comedy of Swetnam, arraigned by women, has this reflexion, Mr. Bowle obſerves, A. i. S. ii. edit. 1620. And he cites a paſſage from Trivet, in his *Annals*, who makes mention of the heretick Amalricus, "qui aſſeruit, quòd, ſi homo non peccâſſet, in duplicem ſexum partitus non fuiſſet, nec generâſſet; ſed eo modo, quo *Angeli* multiplicati ſunt, multiplicati fuiſſent et homines," p. 164. But I am rather of opinion that Milton had his eye on Gregory Nyſſen, who aſſerts that, if our firſt parents had not ſinned, men "fuiſſent multiplicati multiplicationis modo quodam perfectiſſimo, *quemadmodum Angeli*, &c." De Opific. Hominis, cap. xxiv. Chryſoſtom and others were of the ſame opinion. Boccalini puts expreſſions into the mouth of Cato, ſimilar to thoſe of Adam before us, *Raggual. di Parn.* Cent. 1ma. Ven. 1630, p. 355. TODD.

Ver. 891. ——————— *this fair defect*
Of nature,] So women are ungallantly termed in Holiday's Marriages of the Arts, 1618, A. iii. S. i.

"Nature's great errour; the obliquitie
"Of the gods' wiſdome!" TODD.

Ver. 898. ——————— *for either*
He never ſhall find out fit mate, &c.] The complaints, which Adam makes of the diſaſters of love, may be compared with what Shakſpeare's Lyſander ſays in the *Midſ. N. Dream*, A. i. S. i.

He never ſhall find out fit mate, but ſuch
As ſome misfortune brings him, or miſtake;
Or whom he wiſhes moſt ſhall ſeldom gain
Through her perverſeneſs, but ſhall ſee her gain'd
By a far worſe; or, if ſhe love, withheld
By parents; or his happieſt choice too late
Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound
To a fell adverſary, his hate or ſhame:
Which infinite calamity ſhall cauſe
To human life, and houſhold peace confound.
He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve,

" The courſe of true love never did run ſmooth:
" But, either it was different in blood;
" Or elſe miſgraffed, in reſpect of years;
" Or elſe it ſtood upon the choice of friends: &c."

NEWTON.

I have often thought, it was a great pity that Adam's ſpeech had not ended where theſe lines begin. The ſenſe is quite complete without them; and they ſeem much fitter for a digreſſional obſervation of the author's, ſuch as his panegyrick on marriage, than to be put into the mouth of Adam, who could not very naturally be ſuppoſed at that time to foreſee ſo very circumſtantially the inconveniences attending our *ſtrait conjunction with this ſex*, as he expreſſes it. THYER.

Mr. Hayley thinks, that the poet, in this enumeration of the miſeries which ſhould ariſe from woman, might allude to the rejection of his addreſſes from a lady with whom, during his firſt wife's diſobedience, he is ſuppoſed to have been deeply enamoured; and whom, agreeably to his doctrine of divorce, he would probably have led, had ſhe been " nothing loth," to the altar. But the lady, it ſeems, " ſcrupled" to accept his offer " againſt her better knowledge:" She knew he was united to another; or, as he himſelf ſays, " *already* link'd and wedlock-bound to a fell adverſary." He might therefore now call to mind the " meeting of his happieſt choice *too late*." TODD.

Not ſo repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
And treſſes all diſorder'd, at his feet
Fell humble; and, embracing them, beſought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.
Forſake me not thus, Adam! witneſs Heaven
What love ſincere, and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappily deceiv'd! Thy ſuppliant
I beg, and claſp thy knees; bereave me not,
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
Thy counſel, in this uttermoſt diſtreſs,
My only ſtrength and ſtay: Forlorn of thee,
Whither ſhall I betake me, where ſubſiſt?
While yet we live, ſcarce one ſhort hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace; both joining,

Ver. 914. *Forſake me not thus*, &c.] See the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, where Philoctetes earneſtly implores Neoptolemus not to leave him in the iſland:

——————— μὴ λίπῃς μ' οὕτω μόνον
Ἔρημον ἐν κακοῖσι τοῖσδ' οἷός ὁρᾷς ——
Πείσθητι· προσπίπτω σε γόνασί, καὶπερ ὢν
Ἀκράτωρ ὁ τλήμων χωλὸς· ἀλλὰ μὴ μ' ἀφῇς
Ἔρημον οὕτω χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων ἑνός. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 916. ——————— unweeting] *Unknowing*. As in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 126, and *Samſ. Agon.* v. 1080. It is a word of frequent occurrence in Chaucer and Spenſer. TODD.

Ver. 921. ——————— *forlorn of thee,*
Whither ſhall I betake me, where ſubſiſt?] Such is the pathetick language of Tecmeſſa to Ajax, Sophocl. *Ajax*, v. 520, edit. P. Stephan.

Τίς ὄντ' ἐμοὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀντὶ σοῦ πατρίς;
Τίς πλοῦτος; ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ' ἔγωγε σώζομαι·
Ἀλλ' ἴσχε κρύμῳ μοῦνος. TODD.

As join'd in injuries, one enmity
Againſt a foe by doom expreſs aſſign'd us,
That cruel Serpent: On me exerciſe not
Thy hatred for this miſery befallen;
On me already loſt, me than thyſelf
More miſerable! Both have ſinn'd; but thou
Againſt God only; I againſt God and thee;
And to the place of judgement will return,
There with my cries importune Heaven; that all
The ſentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
On me, ſole cauſe to thee of all this woe;
Me, me only, juſt object of his ire!
She ended weeping; and her lowly plight,

Ver. 925. ——————— one *enmity*] There is ſomething not improbable, ſays Dr. Newton, in Bentley's reading, "*in* enmity;" but perhaps Milton put *one* in oppoſition to *both; both* joining *one* enmity. I agree with Dr. Newton as to the conſtruction; but think with Mr. Stillingfleet that Milton purpoſely avoided to write "*in* enmity," on account of the two preceding words beginning with *in*, and the following word with *en*.

TODD.

Ver. 926. *Againſt a foe by doom expreſs aſſign'd us,*] For it was part of the ſentence pronounced upon the Serpent, *Gen.* iii. 15. NEWTON.

Ver. 931. *Againſt God only;*] *Pſalm* li. 4. "Againſt thee, thee only, have I ſinned." GILLIES.

Ver. 936. Me, me *only, juſt object*] The repetition of *me, me*, is like what is noticed in B. iii. 236; and like Abigail's ſpeech to David, "Upon *me*, my Lord, upon *me* let this iniquity be," 1 *Sam.* xxv. 24. Dr. Bentley would read, "Me, only me;" but, as the repetition is highly pathetick, Mr. Upton thinks the trochaick following the ſpondee makes the pathos more perceptible.

NEWTON.

Immoveable, till peace obtain'd from fault
Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
Commiſeration: Soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life ſo late, and ſole delight,
Now at his feet ſubmiſſive in diſtreſs;
Creature ſo fair his reconcilement ſeeking,
His counſel, whom ſhe had diſpleas'd, his aid:
As one diſarm'd, his anger all he loſt,
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her ſoon.
Unwary, and too deſirous, as before,
So now of what thou know'ſt not, who deſir'ſt
The puniſhment all on thyſelf; alas!

Ver. 940. ——— *Soon his heart relented*] This picture of Eve's diſtreſs, her ſubmiſſive tender addreſs to her huſband, and his generous reconcilement to her, are extremely beautiful, I had almoſt ſaid beyond any thing in the whole poem; and that reader muſt have a very ſour and unfriendly turn of mind, whoſe heart does not *relent* with Adam's, and melt into a ſympathiſing commiſeration towards the mother of mankind; ſo well has Milton here followed Horace's advice,

——"Si vis me flere, dolendum eſt
"Primùm ipſi tibi ——"

Milton with great depth of judgment obſerves in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, that "he who would not be fruſtrate of his hope to write well in laudable things, ought himſelf to be a true poem, that is, a compoſition of the beſt and honourableſt things;—and have in himſelf the experience and practice of all that which is praiſe-worthy:" Of the truth of which obſervation he himſelf is, I think, a ſhining inſtance in this charming ſcene now before us; ſince there is little room to doubt but that the particular beauties of it are owing to an interview of the ſame nature which he had with his own wife, and that he is only here deſcribing thoſe tender and generous ſentiments, which he then felt and *experienced*. THYER.

Bear thine own firſt, ill able to ſuſtain
His full wrath, whoſe thou feel'ſt as yet leaſt part,
And my diſpleaſure bear'ſt ſo ill. If prayers
Could alter high decrees, I to that place
Would ſpeed before thee, and be louder heard,
That on my head all might be viſited;
Thy frailty and infirmer ſex forgiven,
To me committed, and by me expos'd.
But riſe;—let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blam'd enough elſewhere; but ſtrive
In offices of love, how we may lighten
Each other's burden, in our ſhare of woe;
Since this day's death denounc'd, if aught I ſee,
Will prove no ſudden, but a ſlow-pac'd, evil;
A long day's dying, to augment our pain;
And to our ſeed (O hapleſs ſeed!) deriv'd.

To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied.
Adam, by ſad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can find,
Found ſo erroneous; thence by juſt event
Found ſo unfortunate: Nevertheleſs,
Reſtor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
Thy love, the ſole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
What thoughts in my unquiet breaſt are riſen,
Tending to ſome relief of our extremes,
Or end; though ſharp and ſad, yet tolerable,

Ver. 976. *Tending to ſome relief of our extremes,*
Or end;] Adam had ſaid before, that the *death*

As in our evils, and of eaſier choice.
If care of our deſcent perplex us moſt,
Which muſt be born to certain woe, devour'd
By Death at laſt; and miſerable it is
To be to others cauſe of miſery,
Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
Into this curſed world a woeful race,
That after wretched life muſt be at laſt
Food for ſo foul a monſter; in thy power
It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
The race unbleſt, to being yet unbegot.

denounc'd upon them, as far as he could *ſee*, would *prove no ſudden but a ſlow-pac'd evil, a long day's dying*, and would likewiſe be *deriv'd* to their poſterity. Eve therefore propoſes, to prevent its being *deriv'd* to their poſterity, that they ſhould reſolve to *remain childleſs*; or, if they found it difficult to do ſo, that then, to prevent a *long day's dying* to themſelves and feed at once, they ſhould *make ſhort* and deſtroy themſelves. The former method ſhe conſiders as *ſome relief of their extremes*, the latter as the *end*. And, as Dr. Greenwood obſerves, Milton might poſſibly take the hint of putting theſe propoſals into the mouth of Eve, from Job's wife attempting to perſuade her huſband in his afflictions to *curſe God and die*. Job. ii. 9, 10. NEWTON.

But ſee the note on ver. 1001. TODD.

Ver. 978. As *in our evils*,] That is, conſidering the exceſs of evil to which we are reduced; an elegant Latin uſe of the word *As*. Cic. *Epiſt. Fam.* iv. 9. "Nam adhuc, et factum tuum probatur, et, *ut in tali re*, etiam fortuna laudatur." xii. 2. "Non nihil, *ut in tantis malis*, eſt profectum;" that is, conſidering our ill ſituation. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 981. ———— *and miſerable it is* &c.] With theſe words a parentheſis commences which comes down to *ſo foul a monſter*. TODD.

Childleſs thou art, childleſs remain: ſo Death
Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two
Be forc'd to ſatisfy his ravenous maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Converſing, looking, loving, to abſtain
From love's due rights, nuptial embraces ſweet;
And with deſire to languiſh without hope,
Before the preſent object languiſhing
With like deſire; which would be miſery
And torment leſs than none of what we dread;
Then, both ourſelves and ſeed at once to free
From what we fear for both, let us make ſhort,—
Let us ſeek Death;—or, he not found, ſupply
With our own hands his office on ourſelves:
Why ſtand we longer ſhivering under fears,
That ſhow no end but death, and have the power,
Of many ways to die the ſhorteſt chooſing,

Ver. 989. *Childleſs thou art, childleſs remain:*] It is a ſtrange miſtake in ſome editions, and eſpecially in Milton's own, where this imperfect verſe is printed as a whole verſe, and the words *ſo Death*, wanting to complete the line, are added to the next line, which is thereby made as much too long as this is too ſhort. NEWTON.

Ver. 1001. *Let us ſeek Death;—or, he not found, ſupply*
With our own hands &c.] Eve's ſpeech, as Dr. Gillies remarks, breathes the language of deſpair; Adam's, the ſentiments of a mind enlightened and encouraged by the *word of God*. Eve thus tempts Adam to ſuicide, in the drama of Andreini. See the note, in this edition, vol. ii. p. 128. TODD.

Ver. 1004. ——————— *and have the power*
Of many ways to die the ſhorteſt chooſing,

Deſtruction with deſtruction to deſtroy?—
She ended here, or vehement deſpair
Broke off the reſt; ſo much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.

Deſtruction with deſtruction to deſtroy?] So theſe verſes are pointed in Milton's own editions; and the conſtruction is this, "And have the power to deſtroy deſtruction with deſtruction, chooſing the ſhorteſt of many ways to die." Fenton and Dr. Bentley have taken away the comma after *power*, and have put the one a comma, and the other a ſemicolon, after *to die:* But *of many ways to die* is not to be joined in conſtruction with *the power*, but with *the ſhorteſt:* and this makes better ſenſe and grammar than can be with any other punctuation. NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet admits the ſame grammatical conſtruction; but thinks that the inverſion is forced and obſcure, and that the following punctuation might render the paſſage more agreeable to Milton's manner:

——————"and have the power
"Of many ways to die? the ſhorteſt chooſing,
"Deſtruction with deſtruction to deſtroy——"

The reſt broken off, as the poet immediately ſays, v. 1008. Where, to fill up the ſentence, "*What hinders,*" or the like, may be underſtood: This breaking off at the horrour of her proſal is very natural, and is not without example. See *Par. Loſt*, B. xi. 285. TODD.

Ver. 1007. *She ended here,* ——————
——————*ſo much of death her thoughts*
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.]

Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 499.

"Hæc effata ſilet: pallor ſimul occupat ora." JORTIN.

Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 644.

——————"maculíſque trementes
"Interfuſa genas, et pallida morte futurâ."

And Lucan, vii. 130.

But Adam, with ſuch counſel nothing ſway'd,
To better hopes his more attentive mind
Labouring had rais'd; and thus to Eve replied.
Eve, thy contempt of life and pleaſure ſeems
To argue in thee ſomething more ſublime
And excellent, than what thy mind contemns;
But ſelf-deſtruction therefore ſought, refutes
That excellence thought in thee; and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguiſh and regret
For loſs of life and pleaſure overlov'd.
Or if thou covet death, as utmoſt end
Of miſery, ſo thinking to evade
The penalty pronounc'd; doubt not but God
Hath wiſelier arm'd his vengeful ire, than ſo
To be foreſtall'd; much more I fear leſt death,
So ſnatch'd, will not exempt us from the pain
We are by doom to pay; rather, ſuch acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Higheſt
To make death in us live: Then let us ſeek
Some ſafer reſolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed
Part of our ſentence, that thy ſeed ſhall bruiſe
The Serpent's head; piteous amends! unleſs

——————" Multorum pallor in ore
" Mortis venturæ eſt, faciéſque ſimillima fato." HUME.

Ver. 1011. —————— *his* more attentive *mind*] Attending more to what had paſſed, *calling to mind with heed* their *ſentence*, as it is ver. 1030. NEWTON.

Ver. 1024. *To be* foreſtall'd;] *Prevented.* See the note on *Comus*, ver. 285. T. WARTON.

Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe,
Satan; who, in the ſerpent, hath contriv'd
Againſt us this deceit: To cruſh his head
Would be revenge indeed! which will be loſt
By death brought on ourſelves, or childleſs days
Reſolv'd, as thou propoſeſt; ſo our foe
Shall 'ſcape his puniſhment ordain'd, and we
Inſtead ſhall double ours upon our heads.
No more be mention'd then of violence
Againſt ourſelves; and wilful barrenneſs,
That cuts us off from hope; and ſavours only
Rancour and pride, impatience and deſpite,
Reluctance againſt God and his juſt yoke
Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard, and judg'd,
Without wrath or reviling; we expected
Immediate diſſolution, which we thought
Was meant by death that day; when lo! to thee
Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth; ſoon recompens'd with joy,
Fruit of thy womb: On me the curſe aſlope
Glanc'd on the ground; with labour I muſt earn
My bread; what harm? Idleneſs had been worſe;
My labour will ſuſtain me; and, leſt cold
Or heat ſhould injure us, his timely care
Hath, unbeſought, provided; and his hands

Ver. 1054. *Glanc'd on the ground;*] The quibble here is inſufferable. WARBURTON.

Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd;
How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pity incline,
And teach us further by what means to ſhun
The inclement ſeaſons, rain, ice, hail, and ſnow!
Which now the ſky, with various face, begins
To ſhow us in this mountain; while the winds
Blow moiſt and keen, ſhattering the graceful locks
Of theſe fair ſpreading trees; which bids us ſeek
Some better ſhroud, ſome better warmth to cheriſh
Our limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal ſtar

Ver. 1066. ——————— ſhattering *the graceful* locks] *Shattering* is an excellent word, and very expreſſive of the ſenſe, *ſhaking* or *breaking to pieces;* and etymologiſts derive it of the Belgick *ſchetteren.* Milton had uſed it before, in his *Lycidas:* "*Shatter* your leaves &c." *Locks* of trees is a Latiniſm: Hor. *Od.* iv. vii. 2. "Arboribúſque *comæ.*" NEWTON.

Mr. Callander here refers to Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 118. Δρῦς ὑψικόμους. *Locks* of trees, however, often occur in old Engliſh poetry. Thus in Niccol's *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 4.

"The loftie trees, whoſe leauie *lockes* did ſhake."

Again, in the *The Whipping of the Satyre*, by W. I. 12mo. 1601.

——————" ſhadie mirtild trees —
" Whoſe leafy *locks*, for more eye-pleaſing view,
" The heauens embalmed with ambroiſiall dew."

And compare the *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, 1610, p. 256.

"The ſturdie *trees* ſo *ſhatter'd* with the ſhowers." TODD.

Ver. 1069. ——————— *this* diurnal ſtar] *The ſtar of day*, the ſun, as in *Lycidas*, "So ſinks the *day-ſtar* in the ocean bed." So that this is ſpoken as if it was now *day*, whereas it was *night* a little before. NEWTON.

Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
Reflected may with matter ſere foment;
Or, by colliſion of two bodies, grind
The air attrite to fire; as late the clouds
Juſtling, or puſh'd with winds, rude in their ſhock,
Tine the ſlant lightning; whoſe thwart flame, driven down,
Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine;

There is here an alluſion, perhaps, to Homer, *Il.* viii. 485.

Ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο,
Ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 1071. ——————— *with matter* ſere] *Dry*, as in *Lycidas*, "With ivy never-*ſere*;" and, in his ſecond *Pſalm*, "fuel *ſere*." So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſl.* C. vii. ſt. 38, "*ſere* wood." The word occurs often in Chaucer and Spenſer. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— *with matter ſere foment;*] According to Virgil's exact deſcription, *Æn.* i. 175.

"Suſcepítque ignem foliis, atque arida circum
"Nutrimenta dedit, rapuítque in fomite flammam."
HUME.

Ver. 1072. *Or, by colliſion of two bodies, grind*
The air attrite to fire; as late the clouds &c.] Milton had Lucretius here in mind, and plainly alludes to his account of the origin of fire, lib. v. 1091, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 1075. Tine] To *tine* is derived, as doctor Newton has obſerved, from the Saxon *tynan*, to light, to kindle; whence alſo we have the word *tinder*. Thus, in P. Fletcher's *Locuſts*, 1627, p. 32.

"Oh! why ſhould earthly lights then ſcorn to *tine*
"Their lamps alone at that firſt funne divine?" TODD.

Ver. 1076. ——————— or *pine;*] Fenton and Bentley read "*and* pine." TODD.

And ſends a comfortable heat from far,
Which might ſupply the ſun: Such fire to uſe,
And what may elſe be remedy or cure
To evils which our own miſdeeds have wrought,
He will inſtruct us praying, and of grace
Beſeeching him; ſo as we need not fear
To paſs commodiouſly this life, ſuſtain'd
By him with many comforts, till we end
In duſt, our final reſt and native home.
What better can we do, than, to the place
Repairing where he judg'd us, proſtrate fall
Before him reverent; and there confeſs
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg; with tears
Watering the ground, and with our ſighs the air
Frequenting, ſent from hearts contrite, in ſign
Of ſorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek?

Ver. 1089. ——————————— with tears
Watering the ground,] Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 191.
" Spargitur et *tellus lacrymis.*" TODD.

Ver. 1092. ——————————— *and humiliation* meek?] I believe he gave it, " And humiliation *meet;*" and ſo in the laſt verſe of this book. But note, that the laſt ſeven verſes, being a repetition of the former, mood and tenſe only of the verbs being changed, is an imitation of Homer and Virgil; and ſhows an aſſurance in the poet, that what was once well ſaid will bear repeating; and has the true air both of ſimplicity and grandeur.
BENTLEY.

Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *meet:* But I believe not. He ſeems to think that " *meek humiliation*" is tautology; but *humiliation* here is not *humility;* it is the act of humbling themſelves before God. We have " *meek ſubmiſſion,*" B. xii. 597.
PEARCE.

Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
From his diſpleaſure; in whoſe look ſerene,
When angry moſt he ſeem'd and moſt ſevere,
What elſe but favour, grace, and mercy, ſhone?
So ſpake our father penitent; nor Eve
Felt leſs remorſe: they, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them, proſtrate fell
Before him reverent; and both confeſs'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd; with tears
Watering the ground, and with their ſighs the air
Frequenting, ſent from hearts contrite, in ſign
Of ſorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God preſents to his Father the prayers of our firſt parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they muſt no longer abide in Paradiſe; ſends Michael with a band of Cherubim to diſpoſſeſs them; but firſt to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam ſhows to Eve certain ominous ſigns; he diſcerns Michael's approach; goes out to meet him; the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but ſubmits: The Angel leads him up to a high hill; ſets before him in viſion what ſhall happen till the Flood.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THUS they, in lowlieſt plight, repentant ſtood
Praying; for from the mercy-ſeat above
Prevenient grace deſcending had remov'd

Ver. 1. ——————— *repentant* ſtood
Praying;] Dr. Bentley thinks that the author intended it "repentant *kneel'd*," becauſe it is ſaid in v. 150, and in B. x. 1099, that they *kneel'd* and *fell proſtrate*: But *ſtood* here has no other ſenſe than that of the noun ſubſtantive *were*. So, in B. ii. 55. "*Stand* in arms" ſignifies "*are* in arms." In the ſame ſenſe *ſtetit* and ἑστήκε are often uſed by the Latins and Greeks. See alſo B. ii. 56. PEARCE.

Stood here, and in v. 14, has no relation to the poſture, but to the act itſelf, and the continuance of it. "*Standing in arms*" is not only being armed, but being in arms with a determined reſolution not to lay them down without endeavouring to attain ſome end propoſed. Thus "*ſtood praying*" means, not only that they prayed or were praying, but that they perſevered in their devotions; and, as the Apoſtle expreſſes it, "*continued inſtant in prayer*," in the humble poſtures of ſometimes *kneeling*, and ſometimes *falling proſtrate*. GREENWOOD.

Poſſibly Milton had in view the expreſſion in St. Mark, xi. 25. "And, when ye *ſtand praying*, forgive, if ye have aught againſt any." TODD.

Ver. 3. ——————— *had* remov'd
The ſtony *from their* hearts,] In Becon's *Pomaunder*

The ſtony from their hearts, and made new fleſh
Regenerate grow inſtead; that ſighs now breath'd
Unutterable; which the Spirit of prayer 6
Inſpir'd, and wing'd for Heaven with ſpeedier flight
Than loudeſt oratory: Yet their port

of Prayer, in that " for a pure and cleane harte" there is this petition: " *Remove* from me therefore, O heavenly Father, my leude, *ſtony*, ſtoburn &c. *hart*," v. ii. fol. 213, b. BOWLE.

Milton had better authority for the phraſe he uſes. For thus *Ezekiel*, " I will *take the ſtony heart out* of their fleſh, and will give them an *heart of fleſh*," xi. 19. See alſo chap. xxxvi. 26. And compare the ſtrong expreſſion of *Zechariah*, vii. 12. " They made their *hearts* as an *adamant-ſtone*." TODD.

Ver. 5. ——————— *that ſighs now breath'd*
Unutterable; *&c.*] *Rom.* viii. 26. " Likewiſe the *Spirit* alſo helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we ſhould pray for as we ought: But the *Spirit itſelf maketh interceſſion for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.*" HUME.

Ver. 8. ——————— Yet *their port*, &c.] This *yet* refers ſo far back as to the firſt line. " Thus they in lowlieſt plight repentant ſtood praying, *yet* their port not of mean ſuitors;" all the intermediate lines being to be underſtood as in a parentheſis. " Nor did their petition ſeem of leſs importance, than when the ancient pair *ſo renowned* in old fables, yet not ſo ancient a pair as Adam and Eve, Deucalion and chaſte Pyrrha, *in order* to reſtore the race of mankind after the Deluge, ſtood devoutly praying before the ſhrine of Themis," the Goddeſs of Juſtice, who had the moſt famous oracle of thoſe days. The poet could not have thought of a more apt ſimilitude to illuſtrate his ſubject; and he has plainly fetched it from Ovid, *Met.* i. 318, &c. Milton has been often cenſured for his frequent alluſions to the heathen mythology, and for mixing fables with ſacred truths: But it may be obſerved in favour of him, that what he borrows from the heathen mythology, he commonly applies only by way of ſimilitude; and a ſimilitude from thence may illuſtrate his

Not of mean ſuitors; nor important leſs
Seem'd their petition, than when the ancient pair
In fables old, leſs ancient yet than theſe,
Deucalion and chaſte Pyrrha, to reſtore
The race of mankind drown'd, before the ſhrine
Of Themis ſtood devout. To Heaven their prayers
Flew up, nor miſs'd the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or fruſtrate: in they paſs'd

ſubject as well as from any thing elſe, eſpecially ſince it is one of the firſt things that we learn at ſchool, and is made by the ancients ſuch an eſſential part of poetry, that it can hardly be ſeparated from it; and no wonder that Milton was ambitious of ſhowing ſomething of his reading in this kind, as well as in all other. NEWTON.

Ovid, who was a favourite poet with Milton, might be ſo among other reaſons from ſo many of his ſubjects being in a certain degree founded on Scripture, or at leaſt having a palpable relation thereto; as the creation, deluge, foreſhewing of the deſtruction of the world by fire, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 14. ——————— *To Heaven their prayers*
Flew up,] Browne's *Brit. Paſtorals*, B. ii. S. iii.

"Swift are the *prayers*, and of ſpeedy haſte,
"That *take their wing* from hearts ſo pure and chaſte."

And Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* C. xiii. ſt. 72.

"Tarde non furon già queſte *preghiere*,
"Che derivar da giuſto humil deſio;
"*Ma ſen volaro al ciel pronte*, e leggiere,
"*Come pennuti augelli* innanzi à Dio."

Mr. Dunſter obſerves, that "*winged* prayers" and "*winged* ſighs" occur in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*. See alſo the note on Milton's *Sonnet* xiv. 10. TODD.

Ver. 16. *Blown vagabond or fruſtrate:*] It is a familiar ex-

Dimenſionleſs through heavenly doors; then clad
With incenſe, where the golden altar fum'd,

preſſion with the ancient poets, to ſay of ſuch requeſts as are not granted, that they are diſperſed and driven away by the winds. See Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 794 &c. "By *envious* winds," as in Ovid, *Met.* x. 642.

"Detulit aura preces ad me non *invida* blandas."

NEWTON.

Ver. 17. *Dimenſionleſs through heavenly doors;*] As theſe prayers were of a ſpiritual nature, not as matter that has dimenſions, meaſure, and proportion, they paſſed through Heaven's gates without any obſtruction. RICHARDSON.

As Heaven-gates are deſcribed (B. vii. 205, &c.) as *everduring*, and *moving on golden hinges*, and *opening wide* to *let forth and let in the King of Glory*, it might be wondered how theſe prayers could paſs through them without their opening, and for this reaſon I ſuppoſe the poet added the epithet *dimenſionleſs*. And, as he glanced before at the Heathen manner of expreſſion in ſaying that their prayers were not *by envious winds blown vagabond or fruſtrate*, ſo here he may intend a remote reflection upon that other notion of the Heathens contained in the fable of Menippus, who was taken up into Heaven; where Jupiter is repreſented as opening a trap-door, to hear the requeſts of mankind; and ſhutting it again, when he was unwilling to attend to any more petitions. NEWTON.

Ver. 18. *With incenſe*, &c.] See *Pſalm* cxli. 2. "Let my *prayer* be ſet before thee as *incenſe*." Chriſt, who is repeatedly called our *High-Prieſt* in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, here ſuſtains alſo the part aſſigned by St. John to the Angel, *Rev.* viii. 3, 4. "And another Angel came, and ſtood at the altar, having a *golden cenſer;* and there was given unto him much *incenſe*, that he ſhould *offer it with the prayers* of all ſaints upon the *golden altar* which was before the throne: And the *ſmoke* of the *incenſe*, which came up with the prayers of the ſaints, *aſcended up before God*." Theſe prayers are called "*odours*," Rev. v. 8. So the poet, "Fruits of more pleaſing *ſavour*." Compare

By their great Interceſſour, came in ſight
Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son
Preſenting, thus to intercede began.
See, Father, what firſt-fruits on earth are ſprung
From thy implanted grace in Man; theſe ſighs
And prayers, which in this golden cenſer, mix'd
With incenſe, I thy prieſt before thee bring;
Fruits of more pleaſing ſavour, from thy ſeed
Sown with contrition in his heart, than thoſe
Which, his own hand manuring, all the trees
Of Paradiſe could have produc'd, ere fallen
From innocence. Now therefore, bend thine ear
To ſupplication; hear his ſighs, though mute;
Unſkilful with what words to pray, let me
Interpret for him; me, his advocate
And propitiation; all his works on me,

alſo *Ezek.* xx. 41. "I will accept you with your ſweet *ſavour*." And ſee the notes on P. L. B. vii. 599. TODD.

Ver. 19. ——————— *came in ſight* &c.] Milton, in this allegorical deſcription of the repentant prayers of our firſt parents, very much exceeds the two great maſters of Italian poetry, Arioſto and Taſſo; who have attempted ſomething in the ſame way. See Carlomagno's prayer in the former, C. xiv. ſt. 73 and 74; and in the latter Raimond's prayer, C. vii. ſt. 79, and Godfrey's, C. xiii. ſt. 72. THYER.

Ver. 31. ——————— *his* ſighs, *though* mute;] *Mute ſighs* is a phraſe of Statius in a deſcription of extreme affliction, *Theb.* xi. 604.

"Tandem *muta* furens *genitor ſuſpiria* ſolvit." DUNSTER.

Ver. 33. ——————— *me*, his advocate
And propitiation;] The conſtruction of the whole

Good, or not good, ingraft; my merit thoſe
Shall perfect, and for theſe my death ſhall pay.
Accept me; and, in me, from theſe receive
The ſmell of peace toward mankind: let him live
Before thee reconcil'd, at leaſt his days
Number'd, though ſad; till death, his doom, (which I
To mitigate thus plead, not to reverſe,)
To better life ſhall yield him: where with me
All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliſs;
Made one with me, as I with thee am one.

To whom the Father, without cloud, ſerene.
All thy requeſt for Man, accepted Son,
Obtain; all thy requeſt was my decree:
But, longer in that Paradiſe to dwell,
The law I gave to Nature him forbids:
Thoſe pure immortal elements, that know,
No groſs, no unharmonious mixture foul,
Eject him, tainted now; and purge him off,

paſſage is this, "*Let me interpret for him unſkilful with what words to pray* for himſelf, *me, his advocate and propitiation;*" the very words of St. John, 1 *Ep.* ii. 1, 2. "We have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our ſins." NEWTON.

Ver. 38. *The ſmell of peace toward mankind:*] The peace-offering is frequently called "an offering of a ſweet ſavour unto the Lord." So, in *Levit.* iii. 5. HEYLIN.

Ver. 44. *Made one with me, as I with thee am one.*] From *St. John* xvii. 21, 22. HUME.

Ver. 52. *Eject him, tainted now;*] See *Leviticus* xviii. 25.

As a diſtemper, groſs, to air as groſs,
And mortal food; as may diſpoſe him beſt
For diſſolution wrought by ſin, that firſt
Diſtemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
Corrupted. I, at firſt, with two fair gifts
Created him endow'd; with happineſs,
And immortality: that fondly loſt,
This other ſerv'd but to eternize woe;
Till I provided death: ſo death becomes
His final remedy; and, after life,
Tried in ſharp tribulation, and refin'd
By faith and faithful works, to ſecond life,
Wak'd in the renovation of the juſt,
Reſigns him up with Heaven and Earth renew'd.
But let us call to ſynod all the Bleſt,
Through Heaven's wide bounds: from them I will not hide
My judgements; how with mankind I proceed,
As how with peccant Angels late they ſaw,
And in their ſtate, though firm, ſtood more confirm'd.

He ended, and the Son gave ſignal high
To the bright miniſter that watch'd; he blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb ſince perhaps

"The land is *defiled:* therefore I do viſit the iniquity upon it, and the land itſelf *vomiteth out* her inhabitants."

STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 74. *His trumpet, heard in Oreb ſince* perhaps &c.] For

When God deſcended, and perhaps once more
To ſound at general doom. The angelick blaſt
Fill'd all the regions: from their blisful bowers
Of amarantine ſhade, fountain or ſpring,
By the waters of life, where'er they ſat
In fellowſhips of joy, the ſons of light
Haſted, reſorting to the ſummons high;
And took their ſeats; till from his throne ſupreme

the law was given on mount Oreb with " the noiſe of the trumpet," *Exod.* xx. 18; and ſee 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 16. NEWTON.

The doubt here conveyed by the qualification of *perhaps* is not to be referred to the events themſelves, of the diſpenſation of the law and the final judgement by the ſound of the trumpet, but to the *identity* of the trumpet. See Wakefield's Obſervations on Pope's *Temple of Fame*, ver. 306. DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. *By the* waters of life,] *Rev.* xxii. 1. " A pure river of *water of life*." See alſo *Rev.* vii. 17. GILLIES.

Ver. 80. *In* fellowſhips *of joy*,] As in Drummond's *Poems*:

" The *fellowſhip* of God's immortal train."

But ſee Dante, *Paradiſo*, C. xxiv.

" O *ſodalizio* eletto alla gran cerca
" Del benedetto Agnello, &c."

And compare *Lycidas*, v. 179. TODD.

Ver. 82. *And took their ſeats:*] Dr. Bentley ſays that, if the poet gave it thus, he had forgot himſelf; for he never makes the Angels to *ſit* round the throne of God: But if he never did elſewhere, he has authority for doing ſo here. I know that it is a maxim with the Schoolmen, *Sola ſedet Trinitas*, that only the three perſons in the Trinity *ſit:* but this is contrary to Scripture; for in *Rev.* iv. 4, and xi. 16, the four and twenty elders are deſcribed as *ſitting on ſeats round about the throne.* There is no occaſion then to read with the Doctor *and took their ſtand:* eſpe-

The Almighty thus pronounc'd his ſovran will.
O Sons, like one of us Man is become
To know both good and evil, ſince his taſte
Of that defended fruit; but let him boaſt
His knowledge of good loſt, and evil got;
Happier! had it ſuffic'd him to have known
Good by itſelf, and evil not at all.
He ſorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
My motions in him; longer than they move,
His heart I know, how variable and vain,
Self-left. Left therefore his now bolder hand
Reach alſo of the tree of life, and eat,
And live for ever, dream at leaſt to live
For ever, to remove him I decree,
And ſend him from the garden forth to till
The ground whence he was taken, fitter ſoil.

cially when it is conſidered that the idea of *taking* ſuits ſo much better with *ſeats* than *ſtand*. PEARCE.

The Angels are generally repreſented to be ſtanding, or falling down, before the throne of God; becauſe they are generally employed there in acts of praiſe and adoration. But here they are introduced in another character, called to ſynod, like a grand council, or to be as it were *aſſeſſours* with the Almighty, when he was to pronounce his decree on fallen man: and therefore the poet very properly ſays, *they took their ſeats*. And thus our Saviour tells the Apoſtles, *they ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones* as his aſſeſſours, *judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*. Mat. xix. 28.
GREENWOOD.

Ver. 84. *O Sons*, &c.] This whole ſpeech is founded upon *Geneſis* iii. 22, 23, 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Of that* defended *fruit;*] Of that *forbidden* fruit. See the note on B. xii. 206. TODD.

Michael, this my beheſt have thou in charge;
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming warriours, leſt the Fiend,
Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
Vacant poſſeſſion, ſome new trouble raiſe:
Haſte thee, and from the Paradiſe of God
Without remorſe drive out the ſinful pair;

Ver. 99. *Michael, this my beheſt have thou in charge;*] Milton has with great judgement ſingled out *Michael* to receive this charge. It would not have been ſo proper for the *ſociable ſpirit Raphael* to have executed this order: but, as Michael was the principal Angel employed in driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, ſo he was the moſt proper to expel our firſt parents alſo out of Paradiſe. NEWTON.

Doctor Newton aſſigns a better reaſon for this appropriation of the poet, in his note on *Par. Reg.* B. i. 129. Beſides, this principal Archangel had as yet only appeared in the Battle of the Angels, in the ſixth book; in which Gabriel, although the miniſter of mercy, has alſo a principal part, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his proweſs; as does Raphael, the ſociable ſpirit, whoſe achievements are ſpecifically related, although he himſelf is the narrator. We therefore might well expect to hear ſomething more of this great Archangel, who, had he not been reſerved for this great commiſſion in the cloſe of the poem, would not have had his due ſhare of buſineſs in the arrangement of it. Accordingly Michael, conſiſtently with his rank among the heavenly Miniſters, is here with the beſt effect brought forward to accompliſh this important commiſſion. At the ſame time, as Raphael had related to Adam all events previous to his exiſtence connected with the *argumentum ingens* of the poem, ſo Michael is ſelected partly to foreſhew by viſion, and partly to relate by narration, the great events conſequent on the Fall of Man to the end of the world; an annunciation of the higheſt importance to fallen man, and worthy to be put into the mouth of the chief celeſtial Miniſter. DUNSTER.

From hallow'd ground the unholy; and denounce
To them, and to their progeny, from thence
Perpetual baniſhment. Yet, leſt they faint
At the ſad ſentence rigorouſly urg'd,
(For I behold them ſoften'd, and with tears
Bewailing their exceſs,) all terrour hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Diſmiſs them not diſconſolate; reveal
To Adam what ſhall come in future days,
As I ſhall thee enlighten; intermix
My covenant in the Woman's ſeed renew'd;
So ſend them forth, though ſorrowing, yet in peace:
And on the eaſt ſide of the garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden eaſieſt climbs,
Cherubick watch; and of a ſword the flame
Wide-waving; all approach far off to fright,
And guard all paſſage to the tree of life:
Leſt Paradiſe a receptacle prove
To Spirits foul, and all my trees their prey;
With whoſe ſtolen fruit Man once more to delude.
He ceas'd; and the arch-angelick Power prepar'd
For ſwift deſcent; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim: four faces each

Ver. 128. ——————— *four faces each* &c.] Dr. Bentley throws out the greateſt part of theſe verſes and reads thus,

——————" four *fac'd were* each
" *And* all their ſhape ſpangled with eyes.
" Mean while, &c.

Had, like a double Janus; all their ſhape
Spangled with eyes more numerous than thoſe
Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drouſe,
Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the paſtoral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Mean while,

His chief objection is to the expreſſion *more wakeful than to drouſe;* which (he ſays) is the ſame as more vocal than to be mute, more white than to be black. But the whole expreſſion is, *more wakeful than to drouſe, charm'd with Arcadian pipe, or opiate rod of Hermes.* When two ſuch powerful cauſes of *drouſing* are mentioned, there is great force in ſaying, that they were *more wakeful* than to be influenced by them. PEARCE.

Ezekiel ſays that *every one had four faces*, x. 14. The poet adds, *four faces each had, like a double Janus;* Janus was a king in Italy, and is repreſented with two faces, to denote his great wiſdom, looking upon things paſt and to come; and the mention of a well-known image with two faces may help to give us the better idea of others with four. Ezekiel ſays x. 12. "*And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about:*" The poet expreſſes it by a delightful metaphor, *all their ſhape ſpangled with eyes*, and then adds, by way of compariſon, *more numerous than thoſe of Argus*, a ſhepherd who had a hundred eyes, *and more wakeful than to drouſe*, as his did, *charmed with Arcadian pipe, the paſtoral reed*, that is the paſtoral pipe made of reeds, as was that of *Hermes* or Mercury, who was employed by Jupiter to lull Argus aſleep and kill him; *or his opiate rod*, the caduceus of Mercury, with which he could give ſleep to whomſoever he pleaſed. It is an alluſion to a celebrated ſtory in Ovid, *Met.* i. 625, &c. NEWTON.

It ſhould be obſerved, as Mr. Dunſter alſo here remarks, that Dante compares the eyes in the wings of Cherubim to thoſe of Argus, *Purg.* C. xxix. 95.

"Ognuno era pennuto di ſei ali,
"Le penne piene d' occhi; e gli occhi d'Argo,
"Se foſſer vivi, ſarebber cotali." TODD.

To re-ſalute the world with ſacred light,
Leucothea wak'd; and with freſh dews imbalm'd
The earth; when Adam and firſt matron Eve
Had ended now their oriſons, and found
Strength added from above; new hope to ſpring
Out of deſpair; joy, but with fear yet link'd;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd.
Eve, eaſily my faith admit, that all
The good which we enjoy from Heaven deſcends;
But, that from us aught ſhould aſcend to Heaven
So prevalent as to concern the mind
Of God high-bleſt, or to incline his will,
Hard to belief may ſeem; yet this will prayer
Or one ſhort ſigh of human breath, upborne
Even to the ſeat of God. For ſince I ſought
By prayer the offended Deity to appeaſe;
Kneel'd, and before him humbled all my heart;
Methought I ſaw him placable and mild,

Ver. 135. Leucothea] The *White Goddeſs*, as the name in Greek imports; the ſame with *Matuta* in Latin, as Cicero ſays, "*Leucothea* nominata a Græcis, *Matuta* habetur a noſtris." Tuſc. i. 12. And *Matuta* is the early morning that uſhers in the Aurora roſy with the ſun-beams, according to Lucretius, v. 655. And from *Matuta* is derived *matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the laſt morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day, wherein our firſt parents were expelled out of Paradiſe.

NEWTON.

Of the time taken up in the action of *Paradiſe Loſt*, which Addiſon confines to *ten* days, and Dr. Newton enlarges to *eleven*, ſee the *Critique on the Poem* in the ſecond volume of the preſent edition, p. 9, & ſeq. TODD.

Bending his ear; perſuaſion in me grew
That I was heard with favour; peace return'd
Home to my breaſt, and to my memory
His promiſe, that thy ſeed ſhall bruiſe our foe;
Which, then not minded in diſmay, yet now
Aſſures me that the bitterneſs of death
Is paſt, and we ſhall live. Whence hail to thee,
Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,
Mother of all things living, ſince by thee
Man is to live; and all things live for Man.

To whom thus Eve with ſad demeanour meek.
Ill-worthy I ſuch title ſhould belong
To me tranſgreſſour; who, for thee ordain'd
A help, became thy ſnare; to me reproach

Ver. 157. Aſſures me that the bitterneſs of death
Is paſt,] Adam is made to talk in the language of Agag, 1 *Sam.* xv. 32. "And Agag ſaid, *Surely the bitterneſs of death is paſt.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 159. *Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,*] "And Adam called his wife's name *Eve*, becauſe ſhe was the mother of all living," *Gen.* iii. 20. He called her before *Iſhah*, Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of *Iſh*, Man, *Gen.* ii. 23. "*Woman* is her name, of Man extracted," B. viii. 496. But now he denominates her *Eve*, or *Havah*, from a Hebrew word which ſignifies to *live;* in firm belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the Promiſed Seed particularly. Milton had called her Eve before, by way of anticipation. NEWTON.

Ver. 161. ———— *all things live for Man.*] "Dicamus de homine," ſays Zanchius, "cujus causâ reliqua omnia, præſertim vero viſibilia, creata eſſe creduntur." *De operibus ſex dierum*, edit. 1632, p. 602. Again, "Omnia hominis causâ facta et condita ſunt," p. 604. BOWLE.

Rather belongs, diſtruſt, and all diſpraiſe:
But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
That I, who firſt brought death on all, am grac'd
The ſource of life; next favourable thou,
Who highly thus to entitle me vouchſaf'ſt,
Far other name deſerving. But the field
To labour calls us, now with ſweat impos'd,
Though after ſleepleſs night; for ſee! the morn,
All unconcern'd with our unreſt, begins
Her roſy progreſs ſmiling: let us forth;
I never from thy ſide henceforth to ſtray,
Where'er our day's work lies, though now enjoin'd
Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
What can be toilſome in theſe pleaſant walks?
Here let us live, though in fallen ſtate, content.
So ſpake, ſo wiſh'd much humbled Eve; but Fate
Subſcrib'd not: Nature firſt gave ſigns, impreſs'd

Ver. 174. ——————— begins
Her roſy progreſs *ſmiling:*] As in Shakſpeare, 1 *Hen.* IV. A. iii. S. i.

———" the heavenly-harneſs'd team
" *Begins* his golden *progreſs* in the eaſt." NEWTON.

Ver. 182. Subſcrib'd *not :*] That is, *aſſented* not, took not her part, as the word is ſometimes uſed in Latin. But it is a common acceptation in old Engliſh. Thus, as Mr. Upton obſerves, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, A. ii. S. iv.

" Admit no other way to ſave his life,
" As I *ſubſcribe* not that."

On bird, beaſt, air; air ſuddenly eclips'd,
After ſhort bluſh of morn; nigh in her ſight
The bird of Jove, ſtoop'd from his aery tour,
Two birds of gayeſt plume before him drove;

And in Marlowe's *Luſt's Dominion*, as Mr. Steevens remarks, "*Subſcribe* to his deſires." TODD.

Ver. 184. ——————— *nigh in* her *ſight*] Dr. Bentley ſays, Milton gave it, "nigh in *their* ſight," not in Eve's only, but in the ſight of both. But it ſhould rather be "in *her* ſight" here, becauſe it is ſaid afterwards "Adam obſerv'd." NEWTON.

Ver. 185. *The* bird of Jove, ſtoop'd *from his aery* tour,] The bird of Jove, *Jovis ales*, the eagle. *Stoop'd* is a participle here, and a term of falconry. NEWTON.

The term is thus explained by Latham: "*Stooping* is when a hawke, being upon her wings at the height of her pitch, bendeth violently downe to ſtrike the fowle, or any other prey." See Reed's *Old Pl.* vol. vii. 190. Dr. Johnſon thinks that *tour* here is *tower*, elevation, high flight. Perhaps it is rather, as Hume has obſerved, a wheeling, ſuch as birds make in their flight, from the French *tour*. But Mr. Dunſter remarks, that the lark's "watch-*tower* in the ſkies," as deſcribed in *L'Allegro*, may ſerve to corroborate Dr. Johnſon's interpretation. TODD.

Ver. 186. *Two birds of gayeſt plume before him drove;* &c.] Such omens are not unuſual in the poets. See Virgil. *Æn.* i. 393, and *Æn.* xii. 247. But theſe omens have a ſingular beauty here, as they ſhow the change that is going to be made in the condition of Adam and Eve; and nothing could be invented more appoſite and proper for this purpoſe. An eagle purſuing two beautiful birds, and a lion chaſing a fine hart and hind; and both to the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe; as Adam and Eve were to be driven out by the Angel at that gate. NEWTON.

The print, prefixed to the fifth ſcene of the fourth act of Andreini's *Adamo*, repreſents, as conſequences of the Fall, beaſts, and birds, deſtroying one another. TODD.

Down from a hill the beaſt that reigns in woods,
Firſt hunter then, purſued a gentle brace,
Goodlieſt of all the foreſt, hart and hind;
Direct to the eaſtern gate was bent their flight.
Adam obſerv'd, and with his eye the chaſe
Purſuing, not unmov'd, to Eve thus ſpake.
O Eve, ſome further change awaits us nigh,
Which Heaven, by theſe mute ſigns in Nature, ſhows
Forerunners of his purpoſe; or to warn
Us, haply too ſecure, of our diſcharge
From penalty, becauſe from death releas'd
Some days: how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows? or more than this, that we are duſt,
And thither muſt return, and be no more?
Why elſe this double object in our ſight
Of flight purſued in the air, and o'er the ground,
One way the ſelf-ſame hour? why in the eaſt
Darkneſs ere day's mid-courſe, and morning-light
More orient in yon weſtern cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And ſlow deſcends with ſomething heavenly fraught?

Ver. 204. *Darkneſs ere day's mid-courſe,*] Ovid, *Met.* i. 602.
"Et noctis faciem nebulas feciſſe volucres
"Sub nitido mirata die." HUME.

Compare *Iſaiah*, xvi. 3. "Make thy ſhadow as the night in the midſt of the noon day." BOWLE.

Ver. 205. *More orient in yon weſtern cloud, that draws*
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And ſlow deſcends with ſomething heavenly fraught?]

He err'd not; for by this the heavenly bands
Down from a ſky of jaſper lighted now
In Paradiſe, and on a hill made halt;
A glorious apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
Not that more glorious, when the Angels met

I think it would not be amiſs to refer the curious reader to Marino's deſcription of the deſcent of the three Goddeſſes upon Mount Ida, *Adon.* C. ii. ſt. 67; which is a ſcene of the ſame ſort with this, and painted, I think, even in livelier colours than this of Milton's. THYER.

It is not improbable that Milton had in mind the frequent ſcenery of this kind, exhibited in the Maſks of his own time; to which indeed he makes reference on other occaſions, even of the moſt ſerious deſcription. See his *Ode on the Paſſion*, ver. 19. And the note there. See alſo his *Ode on the Death of a Fair Infant*, ver. 55.

" Or any other of that heavenly brood
" *Let down in cloudy throne* to do the world ſome good?"

Thus in Carew's Maſk at Whitehall in 1633: " The dance being paſt, there appears in the further part of the heaven coming down a *pleaſant cloud, bright and tranſparent*, which, *coming ſoftly downwards* before the upper part of the mountain, embraceth the Genius;—and then riſing again with a gentle motion bears up the Genius of the three Kingdoms, &c." So in Marſton's Maſk, deſcribed in the ſixth volume of this edition: " The *clowdes deſcend*, whilſt ſofte muſique ſoundeth: Cynthia and Ariadne *diſmount from theire cloudes*, &c." p. 153. Many illuſtrations of this kind might be added. TODD.

Ver. 213. *Not that more glorious*, &c.] That was not a more glorious apparition of Angels, which appeared to Jacob in Mahanaim, *Geneſis* xxxii. 1, 2. Nor that, which appeared on the flaming mount in Dothan againſt the king of Syria, when he levied war againſt a ſingle man, not like a generous enemy; but, like a baſe aſſaſſin, endeavoured to take him by ſurpriſe, namely Eliſha, for having diſcloſed the deſigns of the king of Syria to the king of Iſrael, II *Kings* vi. 13, &c. NEWTON.

Jacob in Mahanaim, where he ſaw
The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright;
Nor that, which on the flaming mount appear'd
In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
Againſt the Syrian king, who to ſurpriſe
One man, aſſaſſin-like, had levied war,
War unproclaim'd. The princely Hierarch
In their bright ſtand there left his Powers, to ſeiſe
Poſſeſſion of the garden; he alone,
To find where Adam ſhelter'd, took his way,
Not unperceiv'd of Adam; who to Eve,
While the great viſitant approach'd, thus ſpake.
Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will ſoon determine, or impoſe
New laws to be obſerv'd; for I deſcry,
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
One of the heavenly hoſt; and, by his gait,
None of the meaneſt; ſome great Potentate

Ver. 215. *The field* pavilion'd] The *tented* field, alluding to the original meaning of *Mahanaim*, that is, "two *hoſts* or *camps*." Shakſpeare alſo uſes *pavilion'd* for *tented*, as Mr. Bowle likewiſe obſerves, A. i. S. ii.

"And lie *pavilion'd* in the fields of France." TODD.

Ver. 220. *War unproclaim'd.*] The ſevere cenſure on this makes me fancy that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we ſurpriſed and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclaimed; which the Whigs much exclaimed againſt. WARBURTON.

Ver. 230. ——————— *and, by his* gait,
None of the meaneſt;] Milton often uſes this expreſſion, to denote the ſuperiour rank of the perſon. Thus Eve

Or of the Thrones above; ſuch majeſty
Inveſts him coming! yet not terrible,
That I ſhould fear; nor ſociably mild,
As Raphaël, that I ſhould much confide;
But ſolemn and ſublime; whom not to offend,
With reverence I muſt meet, and thou retire.
He ended: and the Arch-Angel ſoon drew nigh,
Not in his ſhape celeſtial, but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military veſt of purple flow'd,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old

" ſurpaſſes Delia's ſelf in *gait*, and Goddeſs-like deport" B. ix. 389. And the Prince of Hell is known " by *his gait*," B. iv. 870. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* i. 405. " Et vera *incęſſu* patuit Dea." It is alſo mentioned in *Eccŭs*, xix, 30, that " a man's *gait* ſhows what he is." And in *King Lear*, Albany ſays to Edmund,

" Methought thy very *gait* did propheſy
" A royal nobleneſs." TODD.

Ver. 232. ——————— *ſuch* majeſty
Inveſts *him coming!*] Probably in alluſion to the expreſſion, applied by the Pſalmiſt to the Moſt High: " He is *clothed* with *majeſty*," Pſalm xciii. 1. TODD.

Ver. 242. *Livelier than* Melibœan,] Of a livelier colour, and richer dye, than any made at *Melibœa*, a city of Theſſaly; famous for a fiſh called *oſtrum*, there caught and uſed in dying the nobleſt purple. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 251.

——————— " Quam plurima circum
" Purpura Mæandro duplici *Melibœa* cucurrit."

Or the grain of Sarra, the dye of Tyre, named *Sarra* of *Sar*, the Phœnician name of a fiſh there taken, whoſe blood made the purple colour. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 506.

" *Sarrano* indormiat oſtro." HUME.

In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof;
His ſtarry helm unbuckled ſhow'd him prime
In manhood where youth ended; by his ſide,
As in a gliſtering zodiack, hung the ſword,
Satan's dire dread; and in his hand the ſpear.
Adam bow'd low; he, kingly, from his ſtate
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd.

Ver. 244. ——————— *Iris had dipt the woof;*] See the note on *Comus*, ver. 83. T. WARTON.

Ver. 245. ——————— *ſhow'd him prime*
In manhood where youth ended;] Compare a ſimilar deſcription in Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 347.

Βῆ δ' ἰέναι, κέρῳ αἰσυητῆρι ἐοικὼς,
Πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦπερ χαριέστατη ἥβη.

And a repetition in *Odyſſ.* x. 278, 279. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 248. ——————— *and in his hand the ſpear.*] The conſtruction of this, and the former part of the period, is indeed thus: *By his ſide hung the ſword, and the ſpear in his hand.* The image then is, that, as his ſword hung looſely in his belt, he carried the ſpear negligently in his hand, as he advanced toward Adam; and perhaps this is the picture intended to be given. But the reader is at liberty to imagine the ſpear carried in the Angel's hand in what attitude pleaſes him beſt; or ſeveral; for 'tis common with the ancients for the verb not to be applicable to all the members of the period. So here *hung* may be reſtrained to the ſword only. There is another like inſtance, B. iv. 509, where *pines* agrees to *deſire* only. Markland, on Statius's *Sylv.* i. i. 79, gives ſeveral inſtances of this in the ancients. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 250. Inclin'd] This expreſſion is to be found in Spenſer, in the ſame ſenſe as it is here uſed, *Faer. Qu.* v. ix. 34.

" To whom ſhe eke *inclyning* her withall."

And in Fairfax's *Taſſo*, B. ix. ſt. 60.

——————— " The winged warriour low *inclinde*
" At his Creator's feet with reverence due."

Adam, Heaven's high beheſt no preface needs:
Sufficient that thy prayers are heard; and Death,
Then due by ſentence when thou didſt tranſgreſs,
Defeated of his ſeiſure many days
Given thee of grace; wherein thou may'ſt repent,
And one bad act with many deeds well done
May'ſt cover: Well may then thy Lord, appeas'd,
Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious claim;
But longer in this Paradiſe to dwell
Permits not: to remove thee I am come,
And ſend thee from the garden forth to till

Taſſo ſpeaks this of the Archangel Michael. "S'*inchinà* &c." The expreſſion indeed is perfectly Italian. Thus Virgil, in the ninth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, beckons to the poet, who is himſelf the hero of his own poem, to make himſelf eaſy, and to *incline* to the Angel, ſt. 29.

——————— "quei ſe ſegno
"Chi ſteſſi queto, et *inchinaſſi* ad eſſo."

Landino's comment on this paſſage will ſerve as well for Milton as for Dante. "Chi *inchina*," ſays he, "ſa riverentia; et ſignifica *lo 'nchinare* cedere al ſuperiore, et eſſer pronto a ſottometterſi &c." p. 75. The expreſſion is alſo in Froiſſart, V. 4. C. 78, 228. "Les deux *Roix*, Charles 6 de France, et Richard 2 d'Angleterre, 1396, s' entrerencontrerent. Si s' *enclinercnt* un petit." BOWLE.

Ver. 253. *Then due by ſentence* &c.] Here is a manifeſt confuſion of the idea. *Death*, when ſaid to be *due by ſentence*, is palpably *a thing* to be ſuffered, a puniſhment to be undergone; but, when Death is ſaid to be *defeated of his ſeiſure* &c. he becomes *a perſon*, one appointed to carry into execution the ſentence denounced. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *And ſend thee from the garden forth to till*
The ground whence thou waſt taken, fitter ſoil.] It is after the manner of Homer, that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had received in the very words he had received

The ground whence thou waſt taken, fitter ſoil.
He added not; for Adam at the news
Heart-ſtruck with chilling gripe of ſorrow ſtood,
That all his ſenſes bound; Eve, who unſeen
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Diſcover'd ſoon the place of her retire.

it. Homer's exactneſs is ſo great in this kind, that ſometimes I know not whether it is not rather a fault. He obſerves this method, not only when orders are given by a ſuperiour Power, but alſo when meſſages are ſent between equals. Nay, in the heat and hurry of battle, a man delivers a meſſage word for word as he received it: and ſometimes a thing is repeated ſo often, that it becomes alſo tedious. Jupiter delivers a commiſſion to a Dream, the Dream delivers it exactly in the ſame words to Agamemnon, and Agamemnon repeats it a third time to the council, though it be a tautology of five or ſix verſes together. But in this paſſage before us, here is all the beauty and ſimplicity of Homer, without any of his faults. Here are only two lines repeated out of one ſpeech, and a third out of another; ver. 48, and here again ver. 259. "*But longer in this Paradiſe to dwell.*" And it is a decree pronounced ſolemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel, who was ſent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than thoſe of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and neceſſary to repeat the words in this place, as the cataſtrophe of the poem depends ſo much upon them, and by them the fate of Man is determined, and *Paradiſe* is *loſt*. NEWTON.

Ver. 264. *Heart-ſtruck with chilling* gripe *of* ſorrow *ſtood,*] The word *gripe* was uſually combined with *grief* or *ſorrow*, in our elder poets: Thus, in the Song quoted, from the "Paradiſe of Daintie Deuices," in *Romeo and Juliet;*

"Where *griping grief* y^e^ hart would wound."

And Browne, in his *Britannia's Paſtorals*, affords an exact parallel, B. i. S. iii.

"Free from the *gripes* of *ſorrow* euery one." TODD.

Ver. 267. ——————— *the place of her* retire.] *Retire,*

O unexpected ſtroke, worſe than of Death!
Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradiſe? thus leave
Thee, native ſoil! theſe happy walks and ſhades,
Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to ſpend,
Quiet though ſad, the reſpite of that day
That muſt be mortal to us both. O flowers,
That never will in other climate grow,

uſed as a ſubſtantive both by Spenſer and Shakſpeare, is employed alſo for *retirement* in the manuſcript *Comus*, v. 376.

" Oft ſeeks to ſolitary ſweet *retire*." TODD.

Ver. 269. *Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradiſe? thus leave*
Thee, native ſoil! theſe happy walks and ſhades,] Theſe ſentiments of Eve exceed, both in pathos and variety, the farewell of Philoctetes to his cave; which Milton probably had in view. Sophocl. *Philoct.* v. 1487, ed. P. Stephan.

Χαῖρ' ὦ μέλαθρον ξυμφρουρον ἐμοὶ,
Νύμφαι τ' ἔνυδροι λειμωνιάδες,
Καὶ κτύπος ἄρσην πόντιος προσβολὰς, κ. τ. λ.
Νῦν δ' ὦ κρῆναι, γλυκείόν τε ποτὸν,
Λείπομεν ὑμᾶς, λείπομεν ἤδη,
Δόξης ὅποτε τῆσδ' ἐπιβάντες.

And Mr. Stillingfleet very elegantly obſerves with how much judgement this exquiſite paſtoral is introduced, after the worſt is known, and ſome words of comfort dropped by the Angel. When the firſt judgement was pronounced, (he continues) both Eve and Adam were ſilent: The awfulneſs of the judge, and the ſuſpenſion of their doom, rendered all words improper; for, according to Seneca's obſervation, " Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent." TODD.

Ver. 270. —— *native ſoil?*] Natale ſolum, as the Latins ſay,

" Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine tangit
" Humanos animos."

Paradiſe was the *native place* of Eve; but Adam was formed out of the duſt of the ground, and was afterwards brought into Paradiſe. NEWTON.

My early viſitation, and my laſt
At even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the firſt opening bud, and gave ye names!
Who now ſhall rear ye to the ſun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from the ambroſial fount?
Thee laſtly, nuptial bower! by me adorn'd
With what to ſight or ſmell was ſweet! from thee
How ſhall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world; to this obſcure
And wild? how ſhall we breathe in other air
Leſs pure, accuſtom'd to immortal fruits?
Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild.
Lament not, Eve, but patiently reſign
What juſtly thou haſt loſt, nor ſet thy heart,
Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine:
Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes
Thy huſband; him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native ſoil.
Adam, by this from the cold ſudden damp

Ver. 280. *Thee laſtly, nuptial bower!* &c.] Here is another claſſical imitation, but adorned with new graces by the creative fancy of Milton. The paſſage imitated is the farewell of *Alceſtis*, in the play of that name by Euripides, v. 247, edit. Barnes.

Γαῖα τε, καὶ μελάθρων ςέγαι,
ΝΥΜΦΙΔΙΑΙ τε ΚΟΙΤΑΙ
Πατρίας Ἰωλκὸς. TODD.

Ver. 284. ——— *how ſhall we breathe in other air*
Leſs pure, accuſtom'd to immortal fruits?] To eat for the future, fruits *not immortal*, and to have air *leſs pure* too, are circumſtances which may well juſtify Eve's ſolicitous inquiry about her breathing in the lower world. PEARCE.

Recovering, and his ſcatter'd ſpirits return'd,
To Michael thus his humble words addreſs'd.
Celeſtial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
Of them the higheſt; for ſuch of ſhape may ſeem
Prince above princes! gently haſt thou told
Thy meſſage, which might elſe in telling wound,
And in performing end us; what beſides
Of ſorrow, and dejection, and deſpair,
Our frailty can ſuſtain, thy tidings bring,
Departure from this happy place, our ſweet
Receſs, and only conſolation left
Familiar to our eyes! all places elſe
Inhoſpitable appear, and deſolate;
Nor knowing us, nor known: And, if by prayer
Inceſſant I could hope to change the will
Of Him who all things can, I would not ceaſe
To weary him with my aſſiduous cries:
But prayer againſt his abſolute decree
No more avails than breath againſt the wind,
Blown ſtifling back on him that breathes it forth:

Ver. 310. *To* weary *him* &c.] Thus, in Prior's delightful poem, Emma ſays to Henry;

" And when at night, with weary toil oppreſt,
" Soft ſlumbers thou enjoy'ſt, and wholeſome reſt;
" Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
" *Weary* the gods to keep thee in their care."

The phraſe occurs in Horace, *Od.* i. ii. 26, " prece quâ *fatigent* &c." And in other Latin poets as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, who alſo conſiders this paſſage of Milton as an evident alluſion to the parable of the unjuſt judge, *Luke* xviii. 5, 6, 7. TODD.

Therefore to his great bidding I ſubmit.
This moſt afflicts me, that, departing hence,
As from his face I ſhall be hid, depriv'd
His bleſſed countenance: Here I could frequent
With worſhip place by place where he vouchſaf'd
Preſence Divine; and to my ſons relate,
" On this mount he appear'd; under this tree

Ver. 314. ——————— *to his* great bidding] As in Shakſpeare's *Macbeth*, A. iii. S. iii.

" How ſay'ſt thou that Macduff denies his perſon
" At our *great bidding?*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 316. *As from his face I ſhall be hid,*] " From thy face ſhall I be hid," *Gen.* iv. 14. GILLIES.

Ver. 320. " *On this mount he appear'd;* &c.] This has been obſerv'd to be very like what our author has written in another place, due allowance being made for the difference of perſon and ſubject. " With leſs fervency was ſtudied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was liſtened to one that could ſay, *here he taught, here he ſtood, this was his ſtature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this houſe that harbour'd him, and that cold ſtone whereon he reſted, this village wherein he wrought ſuch a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warm effuſion of his loſt blood, that ſprouted up into eternal roſes to crown his martyrdom.*" Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, p. 34, vol. i. edit. 1738. And both paſſages very much reſemble the following in Pliny's Panegyrick to Trajan. xv. " Veniet ergo tempus, quo poſteri viſere, viſendum tradere minoribus ſuis geſtient, quis ſudores tuos hauſerit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ ſomnum ſaxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hoſpes impleveris, &c."

NEWTON.

The learned Mr. Burgeſs, [now lord biſhop of St. David's,] in the additions to his elegant *Eſſay on the Study of Antiquities*, 2d edit. Ox. 1782, has ſubjoined to the preceding note the following paſſage from Cicero, *De Leg.* l. ii. c. ii. " Movemur neſcio quo pacto ipſis locis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur,

" Stood visible; among these pines his voice
" I heard; here with him at this fountain talk'd:"
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,

adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ Athenæ nostræ non tàm operibus magnificis, exquisitísque antiquorum artibus delectant, quàm recordatione summorum virorum, *ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit: studioséque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor.*" And Mr. Dunster here refers to the two first chapters of the fifth book of Cicero *De Finibus*, where the same idea is more fully displayed; as also for the turn of the words, and a certain concomitant effect of pathos, to the opening of Sidney's *Arcadia*. TODD.

Ver. 323. *So many grateful altars* &c.] Beside the beauty of the sentiment, there seems to be a propriety in this passage, which the commentators have not remarked. From the desire, which mankind have had in all ages, of preserving the memory of important and interesting transactions, many expedients were employed to transmit knowledge to succeeding ages, before the invention of writing. *Groves* and *altars*, *tombs*, *pillars*, and *heaps of stones*, were the representative symbols of past transactions, and memorials to instruct posterity. Without mentioning many other particular instances, which are enumerated by different writers, we find from various parts of the book of *Genesis*, that the patriarchs raised *altars*, where God had appeared to them. See *Ch.* xi. 7. xxv. 25. To this custom of the primitive and patriarchal ages Milton seems to have alluded. BERGESS.

Ver. 325. ——————— *in* memory,
Or monument *to ages;*] Dr. Bentley asks what difference there is between *memorial* and *monument*, that *or* must separate them. I think that by *in memory* Adam means for a memorial to himself for marks, by which he might remember the places of God's appearance: but because his sons, who had not seen God appearing there, could not be said to remember them; he therefore changes his expression, and says *Or in monument to*

Or monument to ages; and thereon
Offer ſweet-ſmelling gums, and fruits, and flowers:
In yonder nether world where ſhall I ſeek
His bright appearances, or foot-ſtep trace?
For though I fled him angry, yet, recall'd
To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmoſt ſkirts
Of glory; and far off his ſteps adore.
To whom thus Michael with regard benign.
Adam, thou know'ſt Heaven his, and all the Earth;
Not this rock only; his Omnipreſence fills
Land, ſea, and air, and every kind that lives,

ages, that is, to warn, teach, and inſtruct them, that God formerly appeared there to him. The doctor, not perceiving this ſenſe of the paſſage, would read

——————— " from the *brooks* in memory
" *A* monument to ages." PEARCE.

The combination of *memory* and *monument* occurs alſo in our elder poetry: Thus in Spenſer's *Virgil's Gnat*, ſt. 74.

" And many loſt, of whom no *moniment*
" Remains, nor *memory* is to be ſhewn."

And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Doub. Marriage*, A. ii. S. i.

" The *memory* and *monuments* of good men
" Are more than lives." TODD.

Ver. 332. *Gladly behold though but his utmoſt ſkirts*
Of glory;] He alludes to *Exod.* xxxiii. 22, 23. " And it ſhall come to paſs while my *glory* paſſes by—*thou ſhalt ſee my back parts*, but my face ſhall not be ſeen:" As, in what follows, he had Statius in memory, *Theb.* xii. 817.

" Sed longè ſequere, et veſtigia ſemper adora."
——— and far off his ſteps adore. NEWTON.

Ver. 337. ——————— *and every kind that lives,*] The

Fomented by his virtual power and warm'd:
All the earth he gave thee to poſſeſs and rule,
No deſpicable gift; ſurmiſe not then
His preſence to theſe narrow bounds confin'd
Of Paradiſe, or Eden: this had been
Perhaps thy capital ſeat, from whence had ſpread
All generations; and had hither come
From all the ends of the earth, to celebrate
And reverence thee, their great progenitor.
But this pre-eminence thou haſt loſt, brought down

conſtruction is, "His Omnipreſence fills every kind that lives:" Which, if true, ſays Dr. Bentley, was not the author's intention. But how it can be proved that it was not the author's intention, when his words ſo clearly expreſs it, I am at a loſs to apprehend: And, if the doctor could really queſtion the truth of the aſſertion, it muſt be ſaid that the *poet* had nobler and more worthy conceptions of God's Omnipreſence than the *divine;* for *In him we live, move, and have our being*, Acts xvii. 28. Pope has enlarged upon the ſame ſentiment with great ſublimity of thought. and as great force of language, *Eſſay on Man*, i. 259, &c. Nay, an heathen poet has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe, to which Milton, no doubt, alluded. Lucan, ix. 578.

"Eſtne Dei ſedes niſi terra, et pontus, et aer,
"Et cœlum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
"Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides, &c." NEWTON.

Milton alluded to the ſublimer teſtimony of Scripture; perhaps to the 139th *Pſalm;* which celebrates, with unparalleled grandeur, the Omnipreſence of the Deity: Or, certainly, to *Jeremiah* xxiii. 24. "Do not I *fill* heaven and earth? ſaith the Lord." So he had before deſcribed the Almighty, B. vii. 168. "I am who *fill* infinitude." TODD.

Ver. 344. ———— hither] So the firſt editions, and not *thither*, which is in moſt of the later ones. NEWTON.

To dwell on even ground now with thy ſons:
Yet doubt not but in valley, and in plain,
God is, as here; and will be found alike
Preſent; and of his preſence many a ſign
Still following thee, ſtill compaſſing thee round
With goodneſs and paternal love, his face
Expreſs, and of his ſteps the track divine.
Which that thou may'ſt believe, and be confirm'd
Ere thou from hence depart; know, I am ſent
To ſhow thee what ſhall come in future days
To thee, and to thy offspring: good with bad
Expect to hear; ſupernal grace contending
With ſinfulneſs of men; thereby to learn
True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious ſorrow; equally inur'd
By moderation either ſtate to bear,
Proſperous or adverſe: ſo ſhalt thou lead
Safeſt thy life, and beſt prepar'd endure
Thy mortal paſſage when it comes.—Aſcend
This hill; let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)

Ver. 356. ——————— *know, I am ſent*
To ſhow thee &c.] This is drawn perhaps from the Angel's conference with Daniel, to which Milton has often adverted. "Now I am come to make thee underſtand what ſhall befall thy people in the latter days," *Dan.* x. 14. TODD.

Ver. 359. ——————— *ſupernal grace* contending &c.] *Gen.* vi. 3. "My ſpirit ſhall not always *ſtrive* with man." GILLIES.

Ver. 367. ——— *let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)*
Here ſleep below;] It may be aſked why Eve was

Here ſleep below; while thou to foreſight wak'ſt;
As once thou ſlept'ſt, while ſhe to life was form'd.
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied.
Aſcend, I follow thee, ſafe Guide, the path
Thou lead'ſt me; and to the hand of Heaven ſubmit,
However chaſtening; to the evil turn
My obvious breaſt; arming to overcome
By ſuffering, and earn reſt from labour won,
If ſo I may attain.—So both aſcend
In the viſions of God. It was a hill,

not permitted to ſee this viſion, as ſhe had no leſs occaſion than Adam *thereby to learn true patience:* But Milton here only continues the ſame decorum which he had before obſerved, when he made Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam, B. viii. Beſides, the tenderneſs of the female mind could not be ſuppoſed able to bear the ſhocking ſcenes, which were going to be repreſented. THYER.

Ver. 368. ——————— *while thou to foreſight* wak'ſt;] All exertions of the mind are properly repreſented under the idea of *waking.* Thus, "*Awake* to righteouſneſs," 1 *Cor.* xv. 34. As, on the contrary, ignorance, ſtupidity, and ſin, are deſcribed by the idea of ſleep. STILLINGFLEET.

Ver. 374. ——————— *to overcome*
By ſuffering,] Virgil, *Æn.* v. 710.
"Quicquid erit, ſuperando omnis fortuna ferendo eſt."
HUME.

Ver. 377. *In the viſions of God.*] A Scripture expreſſion, as Hume and Dr. Newton have noted. See *Ezek.* viii. 3, and xl. 2. To which Mr. Stillingfleet adds 11 *Chron.* xxvi. 5. But Mr. Dunſter thinks we ſhould particularly attend to the firſt of the paſſages, here noticed, in Ezekiel; as it contains a ſpiritual but particularly deſcribed, aſcent or entrance into the viſions of God, in which a ſeries of viſions are ſhown to the prophet; after which, the de-

Of Paradiſe the higheſt; from whoſe top
The hemiſphere of earth, in cleareſt ken,
Stretch'd out to the ampleſt reach of proſpect lay.
Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,
Whereon, for different cauſe, the Tempter ſet
Our ſecond Adam, in the wilderneſs;
To ſhow him all Earth's kingdoms, and their glory.
His eye might there command wherever ſtood
City of old or modern fame, the ſeat
Of mightieſt empire, from the deſtin'd walls

parture of the viſion, or his return to himſelf from this ſtate of ecſtatick trance, is alſo particularly deſcribed. TODD.

Ver. 381. *Not higher that hill*, &c.] Whereon the Devil ſet our Saviour, the *ſecond man*, the *laſt Adam*, 1 *Cor.* xv. 45, 47, to *ſhow him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, Matt. iv. 8. The proſpects are well compared together; and the firſt thought of the one might probably be taken from the other: And as the one makes part of the ſubject of *Paradiſe Loſt*, ſo doth the other of *Paradiſe Regained*. NEWTON.

Ver. 387. ——————— *from the deſtin'd walls*
Of Cambalu, &c.] He firſt takes a view of Aſia, and there of the northern parts, *the deſtin'd walls* not yet in being but deſigned to be (which is to be underſtood of all the reſt) *of Cambalu, ſeat of Cathaian Can*, the principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient ſeat of the Chams, *and Samarchand by Oxus*, the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary near the river Oxis, *Temir's throne*, the birth place and royal reſidence of Tamerlane; and from the northern he paſſes to the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of Aſia, *to Paquin* or Pekin *of Sinæan kings*, the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mentioned by Ptolemy; *and thence to Agra and Lahor* two great cities in the empire *of the great Mogul, down to the golden Cherſoneſe*, that is

Of Cambalu, ſeat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,

Malacca the moſt ſouthern promontory of the Eaſt-Indies; *or where the Perſian in Ecbatan ſat*, Ecbatana, formerly the capital city of Perſia, *or ſince in Hiſpahan*, the capital city at preſent; *or where the Ruſſian Kſar*, the Czar of Muſcovy, *in Moſco*, the metropolis of all Ruſſia; *or the Sultan in Bizance*, the Grand Signior in Conſtantinople formerly Byzantium, *Turcheſtan-born*, as the Turks came from Turcheſtan a province of Tartary; he reckons theſe to Aſia, as they are adjoining, and great part of their territories lie in Aſia.

He paſſes now into Africa; *nor could his eye not ken the empire of Negus*, the Upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyſſinians, ſubject to one ſovran, ſtiled in their own language *Negus* or king, and by the Europeans Preſter John, *to his utmoſt port Ercoco*, or Erquico on the Red Sea, the north-eaſt boundary of the Abyſſinian empire, *and the leſs maritim kings*, the leſſer kingdoms on the ſea coaſt, *Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind*, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the lower Ethiopia on the eaſtern or Indian ſea, and ſubject to the Portugueſe, *and Sofala, thought Ophir*, another kingdom and city on the ſame ſea, miſtaken by Purchas and others for Ophir, whence Solomon brought gold, *to the realm of Congo*, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the weſtern ſhore, as the others were on the eaſtern, *and Angola farther ſouth*, another kingdom ſouth of Congo; *Or thence from Niger flood*, the river Niger that divides Negro-land into two parts, to *Atlas mount* in the moſt weſtern parts of Africa, the *kingdoms of Almanſor*, namely *Fez and Sus, Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremiſen*, all kingdoms in Barbary.

After Africa he comes to Europe, *On Europe thence, and where Rome was to ſway the world:* the leſs is ſaid of Europe as it is ſo well known.

In ſpirit perhaps he alſo ſaw, he could not ſee it otherwiſe, as America was on the oppoſite ſide of the globe, *rich Mexico* in North America *the ſeat of Montezume*, who was ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Cortes, *and Cuſco in Peru* in South America, *the richer ſeat of Atabalipa*, the laſt emperour ſubdued by the Spaniſh general Pizarro, *and yet unſpoil'd Guiana*, another country of

To Paquin of Sinæan kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul,
Down to the golden Cherſoneſe; or where
The Perſian in Ecbatan ſat, or ſince
In Hiſpahan; or where the Ruſſian Kſar
In Moſco; or the Sultan in Bizance,
Turcheſtan-born; nor could his eye not ken
The empire of Negus to his utmoſt port
Ercoco, and the leſs maritim kings
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm
Of Congo, and Angola fartheſt ſouth;
Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount
The kingdoms of Almanſor, Fez and Sus,
Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremiſen;
On Europe thence, and where Rome was to ſway
The world: in ſpirit perhaps he alſo ſaw

South America not then invaded and ſpoiled, *whoſe great city*, namely Manhoa, *Geryon's ſons*, the Spaniards from Geryon an ancient king of Spain, *call El Dorado* or the golden city, on account of its richneſs and extent.

And thus he ſurveys the four different parts of the world, but it muſt be confeſſed, more with an oſtentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem. But Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that ſuch little ſallies of the Muſe agreeably enough diverſify the ſcene; and obſerves, that Taſſo, whoſe Godfrey is no very imperfect model of a regular epick poem, has in his fifteenth Canto employed thirty or forty ſtanzas together, in a deſcription of this ſort; which had no neceſſary connexion with his general plan. NEWTON.

Ver. 405. On] Fenton reads "*Or* Europe." TODD.

Ver. 406. ——— *in ſpirit perhaps he alſo ſaw*
Rich Mexico, &c.] Mr. Mickle, the learned

Rich Mexico, the ſeat of Montezume,
And Cuſco in Peru, the richer ſeat
Of Atabalipa; and yet unſpoil'd
Guiana, whoſe great city Geryon's ſons
Call El Dorado. But to nobler ſights
Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,

tranſlator of the *Luſiad* of Camöens, is of opinion, that Milton is here indebted to that paſſage in the tenth canto of the Portugueſe poet, where the heroes of the poem are preſented with a view of the univerſe, deſcribed by the goddeſs Venus; and that he ſeems to have copied even the mention of America. See *The Luſiad*, 2d. edit. 1778, p. 492. And Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, obſerves that when, in Marino's *Geruſalemme Diſtrutta*, the Deity opens the book of fate, C. vii. ſt. 27, we diſcover ſeveral of the ſcenes which appear in viſion to Adam, when he and Michael aſcend the hill of Paradiſe. TODD.

Ver. 409. ——— *and yet unſpoil'd*
Guiana,] I ſuppoſe Milton alluded to the many fruſtrated voyages, which had been made in ſearch of this golden country. If I remember right, this was the famous place that Sir Walter Ralegh was to have brought ſuch treaſures from. THYER.

Ver. 411. ——— *But to nobler ſights*
Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,] Theſe, which follow, ſays Dr. Newton, are *nobler ſights;* being not only of cities and kingdoms, but of the principal actions of men to the final conſummation of all things. He obſerves alſo, with Hume, that the Angel *removes the film from Adam's eyes*, as Pallas removed the miſts from Diomede's, *Iliad.* v. 127, and as Venus did from thoſe of Æneas, Æn. ii. 604: And, he adds, as the ſame Angel, Michael, did alſo from thoſe of Godfrey, *Gier. Lib.* C. xviii. ſt. 93. See alſo note above, v. 406. In Triſſino's *Italia Liberata*, as Mr. Dunſter likewiſe remarks, the angel, previous to ſhewing Belisarius the viſions of futurity, clears his eyes from the imperfection of his ſight acquired by the fall of our firſt parent, lib. ix.

———"gli diſciolſce il velo,
"Che l'incarco d'Adamo intorno gli occhi
"Gli aveva involto." TODD.

Which that falſe fruit that promis'd clearer ſight
Had bred; then purg'd with euphraſy and rue
The viſual nerve, for he had much to ſee;
And from the well of life three drops inſtill'd.
So deep the power of theſe ingredients pierc'd,
Even to the inmoſt ſeat of mental ſight,
That Adam, now enforc'd to cloſe his eyes,
Sunk down, and all his ſpirits became entranc'd;
But him the gentle Angel by the hand
Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.
Adam, now ope thine eyes; and firſt behold

Ver. 414. ——— *purg'd with* euphraſy *and* rue] Cleared the organs of his ſight with *rue* and *euphraſy* or *eye-bright*, ſo named of its clearing virtue. HUME.

Rue, as Dr. Newton obſerves, was uſed in exorciſms, and is called by Shakſpeare *herb of grace*. I find that the property of *purging the ſight*, is attributed to *rue*, taken internally, in Swan's *Speculum Mundi*, ed. 1643, p. 242.

" *Ruta* comeſta recens *oculos caligine purgat*." TODD.

Ver. 416. ——— *the* well of life] *Pſalm*, xxxvi. 9. " With thee is the *fountain of life*." GILLIES.

Ver. 418. ——— mental ſight,] Mr. Bowle refers to Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* C. xxv. ſt. 308.

" Ora all' *occhio mentale* è conceduto
" Di riveder cio chetu hai veduto."

But, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, this expreſſion is frequently alluded to in Scripture. See alſo my note on *Samſon Agoniſtes*, ver. 1689. TODD.

Ver. 420. ——— *and all his ſpirits became intranc'd;*] So, in B. viii. 453. " My earthly by his heavenly overpower'd, &c." Adam's ſinking down overpowered, and then being raiſed again by the hand gently by the Angel, is copied, as Dr. Newton obſerves, from *Dan.* x. 8, or from *Rev.* i. 17. TODD.

The effects, which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee; who never touch'd
The excepted tree; nor with the snake conspir'd;
Nor sinn'd thy sin; yet from that sin derive
Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.
His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
New reap'd; the other part sheep-walks and folds;
I' the midst an altar as the land-mark stood,
Rustick, of grassy sord; thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought

Ver. 427. *Nor* sinn'd *thy* sin; &c.] So, in *Exod.* xxxii. 30, "Ye have *sinned* a great *sin*." And 1 *John* v. 16. "If any man see his brother *sin* a *sin*." The same manner of speaking has prevailed among the best classick authors, as well as in Scripture. *Yet from that* sin *derive*. The word *sin* is by mistake omitted in Milton's second edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 433. ——— *of grassy* sord;] *Sord* is the old word for *sward* or *swerd*, which means *turf*. Thus in the *Winter's Tale*, Shakspeare, fol. edit. 1623, p. 292.

"This is the prettiest low-borne lasse, that ever
"Ran on the greene-*sord*."

Fenton reads *sod*: and all succeeding editions adopt this supposed emendation, till Dr. Newton restored *sord*; except that Dr. Bentley has printed it (very affectedly, says Dr. Newton,) swerd. *Sord* is Milton's word. TODD.

Ver. 434. *A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought* &c.] It may be proper to compare this account with the sacred history, to which it alludes, *Gen.* iv. 2. &c. "And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof." The poet adds, that Cain took the fruits *uncull'd, as came to hand*, whereas

Firſt fruits, the green ear, and the yellow ſheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand; a ſhepherd next,
More meek, came with the firſtlings of his flock,
Choiceſt and beſt; then, ſacrificing, laid
The inwards and their fat, with incenſe ſtrow'd,
On the cleft wood, and all due rights perform'd:
His offering ſoon propitious fire from Heaven

Abel ſelected the *choiceſt and beſt* of his flock; and in this ſome interpreters have conceived the guilt of Cain to conſiſt. The poet too makes them offer both upon the ſame altar, for the word *brought* in Scripture (which Milton likewiſe retains) is underſtood of their bringing their offerings to ſome common place of worſhip: and this altar he makes of turf, *of graſſy ſord*, as the firſt altars are repreſented to be, and deſcribes the ſacrifice ſomewhat in the manner of Homer. The Scripture ſays only that *the Lord had reſpect unto Abel, and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not reſpect:* The poet makes this reſpect unto Abel's offering to be a fire from Heaven conſuming it; and herein he is juſtified by the authority of the beſt Commentators, Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and there are ſeveral inſtances of ſuch acceptance in Scripture. Cain's was not accepted, *for* (ſays the poet) *his was not ſincere. And Cain was very wroth—And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to paſs when they were in the field, that Cain roſe up againſt Abel his brother, and ſlew him.* The poet makes Cain to *ſmite* him *into the midriff* or diaphragm, a nervous muſcle ſeparating the breaſt from the belly, *with a ſtone*, ſuppoſing it the moſt natural and the moſt ready inſtrument at hand; and ſo Cowley, *Davideis* i. and in his note 16: but however he makes his blood to be ſpilled, as the Scripture particularly mentions *the blood of Abel.*

"Groan'd out his ſoul with guſhing blood effus'd."
"Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore."
Virg. *Æn.* x. 908.

This is very properly made the firſt viſion, and is ſo much enlarged upon, as it is of Adam's immediate deſcendants.

NEWTON.

Conſum'd with nimble glance, and grateful ſteam;
The other's not, for his was not ſincere;
Whereat he inly rag'd, and, as they talk'd,
Smote him into the midriff with a ſtone
That beat out life; he fell; and, deadly pale,
Groan'd out his ſoul with guſhing blood effus'd.
Much at that ſight was Adam in his heart
Diſmay'd, and thus in haſte to the Angel cried.

O Teacher, ſome great miſchief hath befallen
To that meek man, who well had ſacrific'd;
Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?

To whom Michael thus, he alſo mov'd, replied.
Theſe two are brethren, Adam, and to come
Out of thy loins; the unjuſt the juſt hath ſlain,
For envy that his brother's offering found
From Heaven acceptance; but the bloody fact
Will be aveng'd; and the other's faith, approv'd,
Loſe no reward; though here thou ſee him die,
Rolling in duſt and gore. To which our ſire.

Alas! both for the deed, and for the cauſe!
But have I now ſeen Death? Is this the way
I muſt return to native duſt? O ſight
Of terrour, foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!

To whom thus Michaël. Death thou haſt ſeen

Ver. 457. *From Heaven* acceptance;] *Gen.* iv. 7. "If thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be *accepted?*" HUME.

Ver. 458. ——————— *and the other's faith approv'd,*] See *Heb.* xi. 4. NEWTON.

In his firſt ſhape on Man; but many ſhapes
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave, all diſmal; yet to ſenſe
More terrible at the entrance, than within.
Some, as thou ſaw'ſt, by violent ſtroke ſhall die;
By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
In meats and drinks, which on the earth ſhall bring
Diſeaſes dire, of which a monſtrous crew
Before thee ſhall appear; that thou may'ſt know
What miſery the inabſtinence of Eve
Shall bring on Men. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd, ſad, noiſome, dark;
A lazar-houſe it ſeem'd; wherein were laid
Numbers of all diſeas'd; all maladies
Of ghaſtly ſpaſm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-ſick agony, all feverous kinds,

Ver. 467. ——— *but many ſhapes*
Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave,] Seneca, *Phoeniſſæ*, A. i. 151, &c.

" Ubique mors eſt——
——" mille ad hanc aditus patent." NEWTON.

Ver. 477. ——— *Immediately a place*
Before his eyes appear'd, &c.] So Adam ſpeaks, in the *Lacrymæ Adami*, before-cited, B. x. 733.

" Circumſpexi oculis trepidantibus: ilicet in me
" Obvia neſcio quo de grege turba ruunt.
" Curæ'que, Planctúſque, catenatíque Dolores,
" Hinc Metus, inde Lues; hinc Sitis, inde Fames;
" Hinc etiam Morbi, varium pecus." TODD.

Ver. 482. ——— *all feverous kinds,*] " Febrium cohors," Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 30. See alſo Excellentia Nuptia-

Convulſions, epilepſies, fierce catarrhs,
Inteſtine ſtone and ulcer, colick-pangs,
Demoniack phrenzy, moaping melancholy,
And moon-ſtruck madneſs, pining atrophy,
Maraſmus, and wide-waſting peſtilence,
Dropſies, and aſthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
Dire was the toſſing, deep the groans; Deſpair

rum Adami et Evæ, ſubjoined to the Poematia of C. Barlæus, 1643, p. 10. "At nobis ob peccati labem, macies et nova *febrium, totque morborum cohors* incubuit, &c." TODD.

Ver. 487. *Maraſmus,*] The word is Greek, and ſignifies a kind of conſumption, accompanied with a fever waſting the body by degrees. But this and the two preceding verſes were not in the firſt edition, but were added by Milton in the ſecond, to ſwell the horrour of the deſcription. Dr. Bentley is for ſtriking them out again; but Pope ſays they are three admirable lines. NEWTON.

Ver. 489. *Dire was the toſſing, deep the groans; Deſpair* &c.] This is entirely in the picturesque manner of Spenſer, and ſeems to allude particularly to that beautiful paſſage, where, deſcribing the way to "*Pluto's griefly reign,*" he repreſents Pain, Striſe, Revenge, &c. as ſo many perſons aſſembled; and over them ſat Horrour ſoaring with grim hue, and beating his iron wings. *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 21 to 24.

"By that way's ſide there ſat infernal Pain, &c." THYER.

I am inclined to think that Milton might allude to the animated *Induction* of Sackville, in the *Mirrour for Magiſtrates,* in which the allegorical perſonages, who ſit within "*the porch and jaws of Hell,*" are drawn with admirable taſte and diſtinctneſs; as Remorſe of Conſcience, Dread, Revenge, Miſery, Care, Sleep, Old-Age, Malady, Famine, Death, and War. Sackville alſo preceded Spenſer in the uſe of this imagery. I ſubjoin part of the deſcription of *Death:*

"His *dart* anon out of the corps he tooke,
"And in his hand (a dreadful ſight to ſee)
"*With great triúmph* eſtſoones the ſame *he ſhooke.*"

Tended the ſick buſieſt from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to ſtrike, though oft invok'd
With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
Sight ſo deform what heart of rock could long

But the *Viſion of Pierce Plowman* puts in a prior claim to this ſort of poetick imagery and colouring: and, as Mr. Warton obſerves, Nature, or Kinde, ſending forth diſeaſes from the planets at the command of Conſcience, and of his attendants Age and Death, is conceived with ſublimity, and at leaſt reminds us of Milton's lazar-houſe. See *Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 284, ſecond edit. See alſo Mr. Bryant's *Obſerv. on Rowley's Poems*, 1781, p. 431.

Milton had undoubtedly peruſed the Viſion of Pierce Plowman with much attention. We find him referring to it in his Proſe-Works. See alſo the note on *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 533. For a catalogue of diſeaſes perſonified Mr. Dunſter refers to the *Venus and Adonis* of Shakſpeare, and my friend Mr. Park to the *Ship of Safeguarde* by G. B. 1569, as alſo to Chapman's *Epicedium on Prince Henry*, 1612. Du Bartas alſo gives a long catalogue of perſonified evils and diſeaſes which accompany the Furies in their attack on Man. See Sylveſter's tranſlation, edit. 1621, p. 207 and ſeq. Milton, we find, in his plan of giving *Paradiſe Loſt* to the world as a tragedy, intended that "*a maſk* of all the evils of this world ſhould paſs before the eyes of Adam." See the Appendix to this volume. In this deſignation he might perhaps be guided alſo by Spenſer, or by the Italian poets, who repreſent the paſſions perſonified in *a moral comedy* or *maſk*. See F. Q. iii. xii. 1, &c. And the notes on Spenſer's allegorical character, vol. ii. edit. 1805, p. civ. After all, Virgil may be conſidered as the father of theſe fictitious beings. See *Æn.* vi. 273—282.

TODD.

Ver. 494. ——————— *what* heart of rock *could long*
Dry-ey'd *behold?*] The combination of *heart of rock* and *dry-ey'd* is from Tibullus, *El.* I. i. 63, &c.

Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born; compaſſion quell'd
His beſt of man, and gave him up to tears
A ſpace, till firmer thoughts reſtrain'd exceſs;
And, ſcarce recovering words, his plaint renew'd.
O miſerable mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched ſtate reſerv'd!
Better end here unborn. Why is life given
To be thus wreſted from us? rather, why
Obtruded on us thus? who, if we knew

" *Flebis:* non tua ſunt duro præcordia ferro
" Vincta, nec in tenero ſtat tibi *corde ſilex.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 495. ——————————— *Adam wept,*
Though not of woman born; *compaſſion quell'd*
His beſt of man, *and* gave him up to tears] This thought, as Mr. Whalley obſerves, is certainly from Shakſpeare; whoſe words Milton has preſerved at the cloſe of the ſentence. *K. Hen.* V. A. iv. S. vi.

" But I had not ſo much of man in me,
" But all my mother came into mine eyes,
" And *gave me up to tears.*" NEWTON.

The two following paſſages in *Macbeth*, carry an irreſiſtible evidence of Milton's mind here reverting to this unequalled drama of our great bard:

" And thou oppos'd be *not of woman born!*—
" For it hath cow'd my *better part of man.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 502. *Better end here unborn. Why is life given* &c.] It is probable that Milton had the following lines of Sophocles in view, *Oedip. Colon.* v. 1288.

Μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-
κᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ' ἐπεὶ φατῆ
Βῆναι κεῖθεν ὁθεν περ ἥκει,
Πολὺ δεύτερον, ὡς τάχιστα. STILLINGFLEET.

What we receive, would either not accept
Life offer'd, or ſoon beg to lay it down;
Glad to be ſo diſmiſs'd in peace. Can thus
The image of God in Man, created once
So goodly and erect, though faulty ſince,
To ſuch unſightly ſufferings be debas'd
Under inhuman pains? Why ſhould not Man,
Retaining ſtill divine ſimilitude
In part, from ſuch deformities be free,
And, for his Maker's image ſake, exempt?
Their Maker's image, anſwer'd Michael, then
Forſook them, when themſelves they vilified
To ſerve ungovern'd Appetite; and took
His image whom they ſerv'd, a brutiſh vice,
Inductive mainly to the ſin of Eve.

Ver. 517. *To ſerve ungovern'd* Appetite;] *Appetite* is here a perſon, "and took *his image whom they ſerv'd*," i. e. ungovern'd *Appetite's, a brutiſh vice*, that was the principal occaſion of the ſin of Eve, "inductive mainly to the ſin of Eve." NEWTON.

Appetite had been perſonified before, B. ix. 1129. I obſerve alſo in Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum*, 1634, that

"*Vice*,—unbodied, in the *Appetite*
"Erects his throne—"

Mr. Stillingfleet alſo conſiders *Appetite* as here perſonified by Milton. But Mr. Dunſter differs from this interpretation. What is ſaid of ſerving appetite, he contends, is the ſcriptural ſerving divers luſts and pleaſures, *Tit.* iii. 3, or Salluſt's ventri obedientia, which a commentator explains by "quia *animalia ſuos appetitus ſequuntur*." He therefore pronounces *brutiſh vice* to be here perſonified as a demon, whoſe ſervice is brutiſh vice; a Mammon, or a Belial; and he conſiders the Vice of the old Engliſh drama as ſometimes a demon. TODD.

Therefore ſo abject is their puniſhment,
Disfiguring not God's likeneſs, but their own;
Or if his likeneſs, by themſelves defac'd;
While they pervert pure Nature's healthful rules
To loathſome ſickneſs; worthily, ſince they
God's image did not reverence in themſelves.
I yield it juſt, ſaid Adam, and ſubmit.
But is there yet no other way, beſides
Theſe painful paſſages, how we may come
To death, and mix with our connatural duſt?
There is, ſaid Michael, if thou well obſerve
The rule of *Not too much*; by temperance taught,
In what thou eat'ſt and drink'ſt; ſeeking from thence
Due nouriſhment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:
So may'ſt thou live; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
Into thy mother's lap; or be with eaſe

Ver. 524. ——————————— *ſince they*
God's image did not reverence in themſelves.] From *Rom.* i. 21, 24. "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God—wherefore God gave them up to—diſhonour their own bodies. GILLIES.

Ver. 535. *So may'ſt thou live; till,* like ripe fruit, *thou drop*
Into thy mother's lap;] As in Spenſer, F. Q. ii. x. 32. "Made ripe for death by eld." See alſo the *Tragedie of Tancred and Giſmund*, 1592.

"Now *grown in yeares*, and ouer-worne with cares,
"Subiect vnto the ſodain ſtroke of death,
"Already falling, *like the mellowed fruite*,
"And *dropping* by degrees *into our graue.*"

Gather'd, not harſhly pluck'd; for death mature:
This is Old Age; but then, thou muſt outlive
Thy youth, thy ſtrength, thy beauty; which will change
To wither'd, weak, and gray; thy ſenſes then,
Obtuſe, all taſte of pleaſure muſt forego,
To what thou haſt; and, for the air of youth,
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
A melancholy damp of cold and dry
To weigh thy ſpirits down, and laſt conſume

Dryden perhaps had Milton in remembrance, when he wrote the following fine lines;

"So would I live, ſuch gradual death to find,
"Like timely fruit, not ſhaken by the wind,
"But ripely dropping from the ſapleſs bough;
"And, dying, nothing to myſelf would owe." TODD.

Ver. 537. *Gather'd, not harſhly pluck'd; for death mature:*] He ſeems to have had in mind this paſſage of Cicero *De Senect.* xix. "Et quaſi poma ex arboribus, cruda ſi ſint, vi avelluntur; ſi matura et cocta, decidunt: Sic vitam adoleſcentibus vis aufert, ſenibus maturitas." NEWTON.

Ver. 538. ——— *but then, thou muſt outlive* &c.] There is ſomething very juſt and poetical in this deſcription of the miſeries of old age, ſo finely contraſted as they are with the oppoſite pleaſures of youth. It is indeed ſhort, but vaſtly expreſſive; and I think ought to excite the pity, as well as the admiration, of the reader; ſince the poor poet is here, no doubt, deſcribing what he felt at the time he wrote it, being then in the decline of life, and troubled with various infirmities. THYER.

Ver. 543. ——— *in thy blood will reign*
A melancholy damp of cold and dry
To weigh thy ſpirits down,] See Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*, edit. 1624, p. 51. "The firſt of theſe (*cauſes of melancholy*) which is naturall to all, and which no man living can

The balm of life. To whom our anceſtor.
Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much; bent rather, how I may be quit,
Faireſt and eaſieſt, of this cumbrous charge;
Which I muſt keep till my appointed day
Of rendering up, and patiently attend
My diſſolution. Michaël replied.
Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'ſt
Live well; how long, or ſhort, permit to Heaven:
And now prepare thee for another fight.
He look'd, and ſaw a ſpacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue; by ſome, were herds

avoide, is *Old Age*, which, being *cold* and *dry*, and of the *ſame quality* as *Melancholy* is, muſt needs cauſe it, by *diminution of ſpirits* and ſubſtance, and increaſing of aduſt humours." TODD.

Ver. 550. *Which I muſt keep till my appointed day* &c.] From *Job*, xiv. 14. "All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come." GILLIES.

Ver. 551. ——— *and patiently attend*
My diſſolution.] In the firſt edition it was thus:
"Which I muſt keep till my appointed day
"Of rendering up. Michael to him replied."
But I ſuppoſe the author thought that ending too abrupt, and therefore added theſe words in the ſecond edition, and omitted *to him* for the verſe ſake. NEWTON.

Ver. 553. *Nor love thy life, nor hate;*] Martial, lib. x.
"Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes." NEWTON.

Ver. 554. ——— *permit to Heaven:*] "Permitte Divis," Hor. *Od.* i. ix. 9. NEWTON.

Ver. 557. *Were tents of various hue;* &c.] See *Gen.* iv. 20, 21, 22. NEWTON.

Of cattle grazing; others, whence the ſound
Of inſtruments, that made melodious chime,
Was heard, of harp and organ; and, who mov'd
Their ſtops and chords, was ſeen; his volant touch,
Inſtinct through all proportions, low and high,
Fled and purſued tranſverſe the reſonant fugue.
In other part ſtood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two maſſy clods of iron and braſs
Had melted, (whether found where caſual fire
Had waſted woods on mountain or in vale,

Ver. 561. ——————— *his* volant touch, &c.] Thus, in Craſhaw's *Muſick's Duel*, the muſician

——" lightly ſkirmiſhes on every ſtring
" Charg'd with a *flying touch* ——
" His nimble hands *inſtinct* then taught each ſtring
" A capering cheerfulneſs, &c."

And thus Dryden, in his *Alexander's Feaſt;*

" Timotheus, plac'd on high
" Amid the tuneful quire,
" With *flying fingers touch'd* the lyre." TODD.

Ver. 563. ——————— *the reſonant fugue.*] A *fugue* is, in muſick, the correſpondency of parts, anſwering one another in the ſame notes, either above or below; therefore exactly and graphically ſtyled *reſonant*, as founding the ſame notes over again. HUME.

Milton is the more particular in this deſcription, doctor Newton obſerves, as he was himſelf a lover of muſick, and a performer upon the organ. So, in his *Tractate of Education:* " The ſkilful organiſt plies his grave and fancied *deſcant* in lofty *fugues.*" TODD.

Ver. 565. ——— *two maſſy clods of iron and braſs*
Had melted, (whether found where caſual fire
Had waſted woods on mountain or in vale,

Down to the veins of earth; thence gliding hot
To ſome cave's mouth; or whether waſh'd by ſtream
From underground;) the liquid ore he drain'd
Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he form'd
Firſt his own tools; then, what might elſe be wrought
Fuſil or graven in metal. After theſe,

Down to the veins of earth;] From Lucretius, lib. v. ver. 1240.

" Quod fupereſt, æs atque aurum, ferrúmque repertum eſt,
" Et ſimul argenti pondus, plumbíque poteſtas;
" Ignis ubi ingentes ſilvas ardore cremârat
" Montibus in magnis."

But theſe verſes want emendation. *Plumbi poteſtas* is nonſenſe. The ſtop ſhould be placed thus:

" Et ſimul argenti pondus, plumbíque, poteſtas
" Ignis ubi ingentes &c."

Argenti pondus plumbique, as in Virgil, *argenti pondus et auri. Poteſtas ignis* expreſſes the conſuming power of fire. We have *potentia ſolis* in Virgil, and *poteſtates herbarum*. JORTIN.

Ver. 573. ———— *After theſe*,] As being the deſcendants of the younger brother, *but on the hither ſide*, Cain having been baniſhed into a more diſtant country, *a different ſort*, the poſterity of Seth wholly different from that of Cain, *from the high neighbouring hills, which was their ſeat*, having their habitation in the mountains near Paradiſe, *down to the plain deſcended*, where the Cainites dwelt: *by their guiſe juſt men they ſeem'd, and all their ſtudy bent to worſhip God aright*; the Scripture itſelf ſpeaks of them as the worſhippers of the true God, *and know his works not hid*; and Joſephus, and other writers, inform us, that they were addicted to the ſtudy of natural philoſophy, and eſpecially of aſtronomy; *nor thoſe things laſt* (in the firſt edition it is *loſt*, but afterwards corrected among the Errata,) *which might preſerve*, nor was it their laſt care and

But on the hither ſide, a different ſort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their ſeat,
Down to the plain deſcended; by their guiſe
Juſt men they ſeem'd, and all their ſtudy bent
To worſhip God aright, and know his works
Not hid; nor thoſe things laſt, which might preſerve
Freedom and peace to Men; they on the plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the tents, behold!
A bevy of fair women, richly gay

ſtudy to know thoſe things which might preſerve *freedom and peace to men.* Though this account of the Sethites be, in the general, agreeable to Scripture; yet the particulars of their living in the mountains near Paradiſe, and of their deſcending thence into the plain, and their corrupting themſelves in that manner with the daughters of Cain, Milton ſeems to have taken from the Oriental writers, and particularly from the *Annals* of Eutychius. NEWTON.

Ver. 582. *A* bevy] This had been an old phraſe to ſignify "a *company* of women." Many inſtances might be added to thoſe of Spenſer and Shakſpeare, cited by Dr. Newton, from Chaucer, Fletcher, and Drayton, and others. I am perſuaded that the reader of taſte will be pleaſed with the following elegant paſſage in Browne, which exhibits a *muſical bevy alſo of fair women*, Brit. Paſt. edit. 1616. B. 2. S. 2. p. 35.

"As I have ſeene when on the breſt of Thames
"A heauenly *beauy* of ſweet Engliſh *dames*,
"In ſom calm evening of delightfull May,
"With muſicke give a farewell to the day;
"Or as they would, with an admired tone,
"Greet Night's aſcenſion to her ebon throne;

In gems and wanton dreſs; to the harp they ſung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:
The men, though grave, ey'd them; and let their eyes
Rove without rein; till, in the amorous net
Faſt caught, they lik'd; and each his liking choſe;
And now of love they treat, till the evening-ſtar,
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then, all in heat
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then firſt to marriage rites invok'd:
With feaſt and muſick all the tents reſound.

" Rapt with their melodie, a thouſand more
" Run to be wafted from the bounding ſhore."

Hume derives the word from the Italian *beva*, a covey of partridges. And Milton, in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, has " a *bevie* of nimble Dryads." TODD.

Ver. 586. ———— *till, in the* amorous net
Faſt caught,] Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* C. i. ſt. 12.

" Riconobbe, quantunque di lontano,
" L' angelico ſembiante, e quel bel volto,
" Ch' all' *amoroſa rete* il tenea involto." BOWLE.

Ver. 587. Faſt *caught,*] So it is in Milton's own editions. In Tonſon's early editions it is " *Firſt* caught," which both Tickell and Fenton have followed. TODD.

Ver. 589. *Love's harbinger,*] So, in Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 137. " The amorous evening-ſtarre." TODD.

Ver. 590. ———— *and did invoke*
Hymen then firſt to marriage rites invok'd:
With feaſt and muſick all the tents reſound.] This feſtive ſcene is enriched with a variety of claſſical alluſion. Thus Apollonius, *Argon.* iv. 1196.

Such happy interview, and fair event
Of love and youth not loſt, ſongs, garlands, flowers,
And charming ſymphonies, attach'd the heart
Of Adam, ſoon inclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of nature; which he thus expreſs'd.
True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel bleſt;
Much better ſeems this viſion, and more hope
Of peaceful days portends, than thoſe two paſt;
Thoſe were of hate and death, or pain much worſe;
Here Nature ſeems fulfill'd in all her ends.
To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is beſt
By pleaſure, though to nature ſeeming meet;
Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holy and pure, conformity divine.
Thoſe tents thou ſaw'ſt ſo pleaſant, were the tents

Νύμφαι δ' ἄμμιγα πᾶσαι, ὅτε μνήσαιντο γάμοιο,
Ἱμερόεν δ' ὑμέναιον ἀνήπυον· κ. τ. λ.

But more particularly Heſiod, to which Mr. Stillingfleet alſo refers, *Scut. Herc.* v. 272.

——— Τοὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς τε
Τέρψιν ἔχον· Τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐϋσσώτρῳ ἐπ' ἀπήνης
Ἧγον τ' ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα. Πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει.
Τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰθομένων δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύφαζε
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ θρώων. Ταὶ δ' ἀγλαΐης τεθαλυῖαι
Πρόσθ' ἕκιον· τοῖσιν δὲ χοροὶ παίζοντες ἕποντο. κ. τ. λ.

See alſo the note on v. 660. TODD.

Ver. 607. ——————— *the tents*

Of wickedneſs, wherein ſhall dwell his race
Who ſlew his brother; ſtudious they appear
Of arts that poliſh life, inventers rare;
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them; but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
Yet they a beauteous offspring ſhall beget;
For that fair female troop thou ſaw'ſt, that ſeem'd
Of Goddeſſes, ſo blithe, ſo ſmooth, ſo gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein conſiſts
Woman's domeſtick honour and chief praiſe;
Bred only and completed to the taſte
Of luſtful appetence, to ſing, to dance,
To dreſs, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye:

Of wickedneſs,] *Pſalm* lxxxiv. 10. "The tents of wickedneſs." TODD.

Ver. 611. ——— *though his Spirit Taught them,*] See Dr. Heylin's excellent note B. i. 17. And compare alſo the laſt verſe of the chapter there quoted: "*Them* hath he filled with wiſdom of heart to work all manner of work of the engraver, &c." TODD.

Ver. 614. *For that fair female troop thou ſaw'ſt,*] The conſtruction is not, as ſome may apprehend, "For that fair female troop *which* thou ſaw'ſt;" but, "Thou ſaw'ſt that fair female troop, that ſeem'd &c;" Which is a ſufficient proof of the poſterity of Cain *begetting a beauteous offspring*. NEWTON.

Ver. 620. ——— *and* troll *the* tongue,] The verb *troll* is often applied to a *catch*, in muſick. And *to troll a catch*, Mr. Steevens imagines, is to diſmiſs it *trippingly from the tongue*. See his note on the *Tempeſt*, A. iii. S. ii. See alſo Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 24.

To theſe that ſober race of men, whoſe lives
Religious titled them the ſons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the ſmiles
Of theſe fair atheiſts; and now ſwim in joy,
Erelong to ſwim at large; and laugh, for which

" Greek is pronounced wrong,
" Unleſſe you *trole* it o'er the *tongue*."

But Milton, I think, uſes the phraſe in a ſatirical ſenſe, applicable either to the voluble or affected tongues of theſe fair atheiſts; as if he had ſaid to them, in the words of Hamlet, " You jig, you amble, and you *liſp*, and *nick-name God's creatures*, and make your wantonneſs your ignorance!" TODD.

Ibid. ——————————— *and roll the eye :*] So Iſaiah repreſents the daughters of Zion " with wanton eyes," which is interpreted in the margin " deceiving with their eyes," *chap.* iii. 16. TODD.

Ver. 621. *To theſe that ſober race of men*, &c.] As we read in *Gen.* vi. 2. " The ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they choſe.', It is now generally agreed, that this paſſage is to be underſtood of the ſons of Seth, the worſhippers of the true God, making matches with the idolatrous daughters of wicked Cain; and Milton puts this conſtruction upon it here, though elſewhere he ſeems to give into the old exploded conceit of the angels becoming enamoured of the daughters of men. See B. iii. 463, and the note there; and likewiſe B. v. 447, and *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 178, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 625. ——————— *and now* ſwim in joy,] So, in B. ix. 1009. " They *ſwim in mirth*." This was a frequent phraſe in our old poetry. Thus Gaſcoigne has "*ſwimmes in bliſſe*," Poems, 1587, p. 14. And Spenſer, "*ſwim in pleaſure*," F. Q. ii. iii. 39. So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Iſl.* C. xii. ſt. 76. " *Swimming in* waves of *joyes*." And, in Craſhaw's *Delights of the Muſes*, p. 11. " He ſhall *ſwim in* riper *joyes*." TODD.

The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep.
To whom thus Adam, of ſhort joy bereft.
O pity and ſhame, that they, who to live well
Enter'd ſo fair, ſhould turn aſide to tread
Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!
But ſtill I ſee the tenour of Man's woe

Ver. 627. *The* world *erelong a* world *of tears muſt weep.*] Dr. Bentley obſerves, that the *world* and *world* is a jingle; and that *a world of tears* is a low expreſſion. He would therefore read "a *flood* of tears:" as Milton ſpeaks in v. 757. But if this verſe be blameable on this account, yet our poet has uſed the ſame way of ſpeaking in B. ix. 11.

"That brought into this *world* a *world* of woe."

I think that the foregoing part of this ſentence ſhould be pointed thus;

——— "and now ſwim in joy,
"Erelong to ſwim at large; and laugh, for which
"The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep."

For *ſwimming in joy*, and *ſwimming at large*, are oppoſed to each other; as are likewiſe *laughing*, and *weeping a world of tears*.

PEARCE.

As the ſenſe is ſo much improved by this pointing, we cannot but prefer it to Milton's own; which was thus:

——— "and now ſwim in joy
"(Erelong to ſwim at large) and laugh; for which
"The world erelong a world of tears muſt weep."

NEWTON.

Ver. 632. ——— *the tenour of* Man's woe
Holds on the ſame, from Woman *to begin.*] This is an ungallant jingle on *Man's woe*, and *Woman*. I ſhould hope it may be attributed, not to the perſonal feelings of the poet, but to the quaint taſte of the times. See Auſtin's *Hæc Homo*, 12mo. 1639, p. 163. "And this will offend none but ſuch as will have them [women] derived from *woe*, and call them *wo-men;* becauſe they thinke it was long of them wee fell." Again, p. 164.

Holds on the ſame, from Woman to begin.
From Man's effeminate ſlackneſs it begins,
Said the Angel, who ſhould better hold his place
By wiſdom, and ſuperiour gifts receiv'd.
But now prepare thee for another ſcene.
He look'd, and ſaw wide territory ſpread
Before him, towns, and rural works between;
Cities of men with lofty gates and towers,
Concourſe in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
Giants of mighty bone and bold empriſe;
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming ſteed,
Single or in array of battle rang'd
Both horſe and foot, nor idly muſtering ſtood;
One way a band ſelect from forage drives
A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,
From a fat meadow ground; or fleecy flock,
Ewes and their bleating lambs over the plain,

" How ill did hee his Grammar ſkan,
" That call'd a *Woman woe to man!*" TODD.

Ver. 642. Giants *of mighty* bone *and* bold empriſe;] Drayton, in his *Moſes's birth* &c. 1630, calls the giant Anak "*big-bon'd*, terrible, and dread." See alſo the *Mir. for Magiſtrates*, ed. 1610, p. 640.

" The Britaine *big-bon'd*, *bold*, not borne to yeeld."

Empriſe is *enterpriſe*. The whole expreſſion, *bold empriſe*, occurs in *Comus*, and is repeatedly uſed by Spenſer. But perhaps Arioſto is the original, *Orl. Fur.* C. i. ſt. 1.

" Le corteſie, l' *audaci impreſe*, io canto." TODD.

Ver. 645. ——— *nor idly muſtering ſtood:*] One cannot perceive the pertinence of this, without ſuppoſing that it hinted at the circumſtances of the land-army at this time. WARBURTON.

Their booty; ſcarce with life the ſhepherds fly,
But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray;
With cruel tournament the ſquadrons join;
Where cattle paſtur'd late, now ſcatter'd lies
With carcaſſes and arms the enſanguin'd field,
Deſerted: Others to a city ſtrong
Lay ſiege, encamp'd; by battery, ſcale, and mine,
Aſſaulting; others from the wall defend
With dart and javelin, ſtones, and ſulphurous fire;
On each hand ſlaughter, and gigantick deeds.
In other part the ſcepter'd heralds call

Ver. 651. ——— *which* makes *a bloody fray;*] So it was altered for the better in the ſecond edition: It was "*tacks* a bloody fray" in the firſt edition; which is not ſo plain and intelligible. NEWTON.

Ver. 654. ——— *the enſanguin'd field,*] Homer, *Il.* xvii. 360.

——— αἵματι δὲ χθὼν
Δεύετο πορφυρέῳ. CALLANDER.

Ver. 659. ——— *gigantick deeds.*] Orpheus, Argonaut. ver. 17.

——— ἠδ' ἔργ' ἀείδηλα
Γιγάντων. DUNSTER.

Ver. 660. *In other part the ſcepter'd heralds call* &c.] It may be noted here once for all, that, in this viſionary part, Milton has frequently had his eye upon his maſter Homer; and ſeveral of the images, which are repreſented to Adam, are copies of the deſcriptions on the ſhield of Achilles, *Iliad* xviii.

"His eyes he opened, and beheld a field,
"Part arable and tilth, whereon were ſheaves
"New reap'd, the other part ſheep-walks and folds."

Is not this Homer's deſcription a little contracted? ver. 550 &c.

To council, in the city-gates; anon
Gray-headed men and grave, with warriours mix'd,

Ἐν δ' ἐλίθει τέμενϕ βαθυληΐδι· ἔνθα δ' ἔριθοι
Ἥμων, ὀξείας δρεπάνας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες·
Δράϕμαΐα δ' ἄλλα μετ' ὄϕμον ἐπήρμενα πίπτον ἔραζε,
Ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδεσμῆρες ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δέονλο.

And ver 587, &c.

Ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
Ἐν καλῇ βήσσῃ μέγαν οἰῶν ἀργεννάων,
Σταθμούς τε, κλισίας τε, καλημερίας ἰδὲ Ϛηκάς.

Is not the viſion of marriages,

"They light the nuptial torch, &c."

a moſt beautiful and exact copy of Homer? ver. 491, &c.

——Ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε·
Νύμϕας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων ὑπολαμπομενάων,
Ἡγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄϛυ· πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιϵ ὀρώρει.
Κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηϛῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Αὐλοί, ϕόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον·——

And in like manner the driving away of the ſheep and oxen from forage, and the battle which thereupon enſues, may be compared with the following paſſage in Homer, ver. 527, &c.

Οἱ μὲν τὰ πρoϊδόντες ἐπέδραμον, ὦκα δ' ἔπειτα
Τάμνονθ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀϛέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ
Ἀργεννῶν οἰῶν· κτείνον δ' ἐπὶ μελοβότῆρας.
Οἱ δ' ὡς ϵἶδ' ἐπύθοντο πολὺν κέλαδον παρὰ βϵσσὶν,
Ἰράων προπάροιθε καθήμενοι, αὐτίκ' ἐϕ' ἵππων
Βάντες ἀερσιπόδων μετεκίαθον· ἆϊψα δ' ἵκοντο.
Στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην πολεμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας.

The repreſentation of the city beſieged here in Milton, the reader will find to be a very great improvement upon that in Homer, ver. 509, &c.

Τὴν δ' ἑτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δύο ϛρατοὶ εἰάλο λαῶν
Τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι·

As the council in Milton, ſeems to be of much more importance than in Homer, ver. 503, &c.

Aſſemble, and harangues are heard; but ſoon,
In factious oppoſition; till at laſt,
Of middle age one riſing, eminent
In wiſe deport, ſpake much of right and wrong,
Of juſtice, of religion, truth, and peace,
And judgement from above: him old and young
Exploded, and had ſeiz'd with violent hands,
Had not a cloud deſcending ſnatch'd him thence

Κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Εἵατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.
Σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ' ἔχον ἠεροφώνων·
Τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἐδίκαζον.

The deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles is certainly one of the fineſt pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad; and Milton has plainly ſhown his admiration and affection for it, by borrowing ſo many ſcenes and images from it: but I think we may ſay that they do not, like other copies, fall ſhort of the originals, but generally exceed them; and receive this additional beauty, that they are moſt of them made repreſentations of real hiſtories, and matters of fact. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. *To council, in the city-gates;*] For there aſſemblies were anciently held, and the judges uſed to ſit, *Gen.* xxxiv. 20, *Deut.* xvi. 18, xxi. 19, *Zech.* viii. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 665. *Of middle age one riſing,*] Enoch, ſaid to be *of middle age*, becauſe he was tranſlated when he was but 365 years old; a middle age then. *Gen.* v. 23. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 668. *And judgement from above:*] It appears from Holy Writ, that he was not only a good man, *and walked with God*, Gen. v. 24; but that he remonſtrated likewiſe againſt the wickedneſs of mankind, and denounced the heavy judgement of God upon them, Jude 14: "*Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his Saints to execute judgment upon all*, &c." which the poet alludes to more plainly afterwards, ver. 704.

——— "that God would come
"To judge them with his Saints." NEWTON.

Unſeen amid the throng: ſo violence
Proceeded, and oppreſſion, and ſword-law,
Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
Lamenting turn'd full ſad; O! what are theſe,
Death's miniſters, not men? who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thouſandfold the ſin of him who ſlew
His brother: for of whom ſuch maſſacre
Make they, but of their brethren; men of men?
But who was that juſt man, whom had not Heaven
Reſcued, had in his righteouſneſs been loſt?
To whom thus Michael. Theſe are the prodúct
Of thoſe ill-mated marriages thou ſaw'ſt;
Where good with bad were match'd, who of themſelves
Abhor to join; and, by imprudence mix'd,
Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
Such were theſe giants, men of high renown;

Ver. 672. ——————— ſword-law,] This was probably intended by the poet as a reflection on the dangerous doctrine of his antagoniſt, Hobbes; who wiſhed to eſtabliſh the falſe notion, That right is founded on might. However, we may compare Richard's ſpeech to his ſoldiers in Shakſpeare's *K. Rich.* III. A. v. S. iii.

" Our ſtrong arms be our conſcience, *ſwords* our *law!*"

TODD.

Ver. 688. *Such were theſe giants*, &c.] *Gen.* vi. 4. " There were giants in the earth in thoſe days; &c." Some commenta-

For in thoſe days might only ſhall be admir'd,
And valour and heroick virtue call'd;
To overcome in battle, and ſubdue
Nations, and bring home ſpoils with infinite
Man-ſlaughter, ſhall be held the higheſt pitch
Of human glory; and for glory done
Of triumph, to be ſtyl'd great conquerours

tors underſtand by the word, which we tranſlate *giants*, men of large bulk and ſtature; others conceive them to be no more than robbers and tyrants: Milton includes both interpretations, and leaves the choice to the reader; "*prodigious births of body or mind.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 691. *To overcome in battle*, &c.] This character is drawn more maſterly in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 71.

"They err, who count it glorious, &c." WARBURTON.

Ver. 694. ——————— *and for glory* done
Of *triumph, to be ſtyl'd great conquerours*,] Milton had ſaid before, that "It ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of glory, to ſubdue nations and bring home their ſpoils:" And here he adds (for this I take to be his ſenſe) that "It ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of triumph for that glory *obtain'd*, to be ſtyled great conquerours." So that, though I approve of Dr. Bentley's changing "*done*" into "*won*," I cannot agree to his altering "*of* triumph" to "*or* triumph." PEARCE.

This is one of the moſt difficult paſſages. I am not ſatisfied with the conjectures of either of theſe learned men, and ſee no other way of underſtanding it but this. "To overcome, to ſubdue, to ſpoil, ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of glory, and *ſhall be* done for glory of triumph," *ſhall be achieved for that end and purpoſe*, "to be ſtyled great conquerours, &c." NEWTON.

Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, that the conſtruction is, "To overcome in battle &c. ſhall be held the higheſt pitch of *glory*, that is, *of glorious deeds*, and of triumph for that *glory done*, that is, *thoſe glorious deeds done*;" as we ſay, He has done great *honour* to ſuch an one, that is a *deed honourable* to him. This renders

Patrons of mankind, Gods, and ſons of Gods;
Deſtroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.
Thus fame ſhall be achiev'd, renown on earth;
And what moſt merits fame, in ſilence hid.
But he, the ſeventh from thee, whom thou beheldſt
The only righteous in a world preverſe,
And therefore hated, therefore ſo beſet
With foes, for daring ſingle to be juſt,
And utter odious truth, that God would come
To judge them with his Saints: him the Moſt High
Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged ſteeds
Did, as thou ſaw'ſt, receive, to walk with God
High in ſalvation and the climes of bliſs,
Exempt from death; to ſhow thee what reward
Awaits the good; the reſt what puniſhment;
Which now direct thine eyes and ſoon behold.
He look'd, and ſaw the face of things quite chang'd;

Dr. Bentley's conjecture of *won* inſtead of *done*, and Dr. Newton's ſupply of the ellipſis *ſhall be*, alike unneceſſary. TODD.

Ver. 700. ——— *he, the ſeventh from thee,*] "Enoch alſo the ſeventh from Adam," *Jude* 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 701. *The only righteous* &c.] See *Gen.* v. 24, and *Heb.* xi. 5. TODD.

Ver. 706. Rapt *in a balmy cloud with winged ſteeds*] So in B. iii. 522. "*Rapt* in a chariot drawn by fiery ſteeds." Compare the deſcription of Elijah "*taken up* in a whirlwind of fire, and *in a chariot of fiery horſes*," Eccūs, xlviii. 9. TODD.

Ver. 711. Which *now direct thine eyes and ſoon behold.*] The ſyntax is remarkable: *Which* governed not by the verb next following, but by the laſt in the ſentence. NEWTON.

The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar;
All now was turn'd to jollity and game,
To luxury and riot, feaſt and dance;
Marrying or proſtituting, as befel,
Rape or adultery, where paſſing fair
Allur'd them; thence from cups to civil broils.
At length a reverend ſire among them came,
And of their doings great diſlike declar'd,
And teſtified againſt their ways; he oft
Frequented their aſſemblies, whereſo met,
Triumphs or feſtivals; and to them preach'd
Converſion and repentance, as to ſouls
In priſon, under judgements imminent:
But all in vain: which when he ſaw, he ceas'd
Contending, and remov'd his tents far off;

Ver. 713. *The* brazen *throat of* war &c.] See alſo Milton's *Vac. Ex.* ver. 86. Craſhaw, in his *Muſick's Duel*, has "the *brazen* voice of *war's* hoarſe bird." TODD.

Ver. 719. *At length a reverend ſire amongſt them came,*
And of their doings great diſlike declar'd, &c.] This is from Joſephus: Ὁ Νῶχος δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραττομένοις δυσχεραίνων καὶ ἀλγηδῶς ἔχων, ἵστιζεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. cap. iv. We may compare alſo ver. 725, 726, with the relation of the ſame hiſtorian. DUNSTER.

Ver. 723. *Triumphs*] See the note on *Samſon Agoniſt.* ver. 1313. T. WARTON.

Ibid. ——————————— *preach'd*
Converſion and repentance, as to ſouls
In priſon,] This account of Noah's preaching is founded chiefly upon St. Peter, 1 *Pet.* iii. 19, 20: As what follows of his deſiſting, when he found his preaching ineffectual, and of removing into another country, is taken from Joſephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. c. 3. NEWTON.

Then, from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a veſſel of huge bulk;
Meaſur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth;
Smear'd round with pitch; and in the ſide a door
Contriv'd; and of proviſions laid in large,
For man and beaſt: when lo, a wonder ſtrange!
Of every beaſt, and bird, and inſect ſmall,
Came ſevens, and pairs; and enter'd in as taught
Their order: laſt the fire and his three ſons,
With their four wives; and God made faſt the door.
Mean while the ſouth-wind roſe, and, with black wings

Ver. 730. *Meaſur'd by cubit, length, and breadth,* &c.] See *Gen.* vi. 14, 15, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 732. ——— *and of proviſions laid in* large,] He uſes the adjective adverbially here and elſewhere, as is common in Latin. "*Magnúm*que fluentem Nilum," Virg. *Georg.* iii. 28. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 735. *Came* ſevens, *and* pairs;] *Sevens* of clean creatures, and *pairs* of unclean. For this, and other particulars here mentioned, ſee *Gen.* vii. NEWTON.

Ver. 738. *Mean while the ſouth-wind roſe,* &c.] Addiſon and Dr. Newton have noticed the ſuperiority of the Engliſh poet to Ovid, in the deſcription of the Deluge. Homer, who is ſuppoſed by Euſtathius to have alluded to the Moſaick account of the Flood in the following fine verſes, appears to have eſcaped their obſervation, *Iliad* xvi. 384.

Ὡς δ' ὑπὸ λαίλαπι πᾶσα κελαινὴ βέβριθε χθὼν
Ἤματ' ὀπωρινῷ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνῃ,

Wide-hovering, all the clouds together drove
From under Heaven; the hills to their ſupply
Vapour, and exhalation duſk and moiſt,
Sent up amain; and now the thicken'd ſky
Like a dark cieling ſtood; down ruſh'd the rain
Impetuous; and continued, till the earth
No more was ſeen: the floating veſſel ſwum
Uplifted, and ſecure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves; all dwellings elſe

Οἳ βίῃ σὺν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
Ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.
Τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες,
Πολλὰς δὲ κλιτὺς τότ' ἀποτμήγουσι χαράδρας,
Ἐς δ' ἅλα πορφυρέην μεγάλα στενάχουσι ῥέουσαι
Ἐξ ὀρέων ἐπὶ κάρ· μινύθει δέ τε ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

Nor ſhould the reſemblance of a deſcriptive paſſage in Craſhaw to Milton's ſouth-wind hovering with black wings, be here omitted:

——————" triumphant darkneſs *hovers*
" *With a ſable wing* that covers
" Brooding horror." TODD.

Ver. 743. *Like a dark* cieling] *Cieling* may be thought too mean a word in poetry; but Milton had a view to its derivation from *cælum* (Latin) *cielo* (Italian) *heaven*. RICHARDSON.

Cieling had been uſed before in Engliſh poetry. Thus G. Fletcher, in his *Chriſt's Triumph*, calls the ſky " the *cieling* gay, ſtarred aloft " ſt. 26. And Drummond begins *The Shadow of the Judgement* thus;

" Above thoſe boundleſs bounds, where ſtars do move,
" The *cieling* of the cryſtal round above." TODD.

Ver. 747. *Rode* tilting *o'er the* waves;] Our old poets, as Mr. Dunſter alſo notices, frequently deſcribe the toſſing waves as tilting with each other, or againſt projecting rocks. Thus in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. i. " From the land the *tilting waves* do break." And thus Sylveſter, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 306.

Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp
Deep under water roll'd; ſea cover'd ſea,
Sea without ſhore; and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, ſea-monſters whelp'd
And ſtabled; of mankind, ſo numerous late,
All left, in one ſmall bottom ſwum imbark'd.
How didſt thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
The end of all thy offspring, end ſo ſad,
Depopulation! Thee another flood,
Of tears and ſorrow a flood, thee alſo drown'd,
And ſunk thee as thy ſons; till, gently rear'd
By the Angel, on thy feet thou ſtood'ſt at laſt,

" Seas foaming courſe, whoſe ever-*tilting* tide
" Ebbing or flowing, &c." TODD.

Ver. 750. *Sea without ſhore;*] An expreſſion reſembling indeed Ovid's " deerant quoque littora ponto," and occurring literally in F. Goldſmith's Tranſlation of Grotius's *Sophompaneas*, 12mo. 1634, p. 10.

" When on the mountain tops the waves did roar,
" And made the world a *ſea without a ſhoar.*" TODD.

Ver. 750. ——— *and in their palaces,*
Where luxury late reign'd, ſea-monſters whelp'd
And ſtabled;] Lycophron, *Caſſandra*, ver. 82. edit. Potter.

Φηγὸν δ', καὶ δρύκαρπα, καὶ γλυκὺν βότρυν
Φάλαι τε, καὶ δελφῖνες, αἳ τ' ἐπ' ἀρσένων
Φέρεσθαι φῶκαι λέκτρα θουρῶσαι βροτῶν. TODD.

Ver. 752. ——— *of mankind, ſo numerous late,*
All left, in one ſmall bottom ſwum embark'd.] See Vida's *Chriſtiad.* lib. i.

" Omnibus hìc pauci, extinctis mortalibus, ibant
" Incluſi ligno ſummas impunè per undas." THYER.

Though comfortleſs; as when a father mourns
His children, all in view deſtroy'd at once;
And ſcarce to the Angel utter'dſt thus thy plaint.
O viſions ill foreſeen! Better had I
Liv'd ignorant of future! ſo had borne
My part of evil only, each day's lot
Enough to bear; thoſe now, that were diſpens'd
The burden of many ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
With thought that they muſt be. Let no man ſeek

Ver. 760. ——— *as when a father mourns* &c.] Homer compares the grief of Achilles to that of a father, *Il.* xxiii. 222. CALLANDER.

But ſee *Jeremiah* xxxi. 15, 16, 17. DUNSTER.

Ver. 763. *O viſions ill foreſeen! better had I*
Liv'd ignorant &c.] As Tireſias exclaims, Sophocl. *Oed. Tyran.* ver. 324, edit. P. Steph.

Φεῦ· φεῦ· φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν, ἔνθα μὴ τέλη
Λύει φρονοῦντι. TODD.

Ver. 765. ——— *each day's lot*
Enough to bear;] *Matth.* vi. 34. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." NEWTON.

Ver. 766. ——— *diſpens'd* &c.] Diſtributed, dealt out in parcels, to be a ſufficient burden, the load of many ages. *Diſpenſare* from *penſo* to weigh; thence comes the word *penſum*, the quantity of wool that was weighed out to the maids to ſpin; thence it means a taſk in general; and, to *diſpenſe*, is to diſtribute theſe taſks to every one. The word is uſed with great propriety, and in the true antique ſenſe. See alſo B. iii. 579. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 770. *Let no man ſeek* &c.] This monition was not im-

Henceforth to be foretold, what ſhall befall
Him or his children; evil he may be ſure,
Which neither his foreknowing can prevent;
And he the future evil ſhall no leſs
In apprehenſion than in ſubſtance feel,
Grievous to bear: but that care now is paſt,
Man is not whom to warn: thoſe few eſcap'd
Famine and anguiſh will at laſt conſume,
Wandering that watery deſart: I had hope,
When violence was ceas'd, and war on earth,
All would have then gone well; peace would
have crown'd

pertinent at a time, when the folly of caſting nativities was ſtill in uſe. WARBURTON.

Ver. 773. *Which* neither *his foreknowing can prevent,*] Dr. Bentley ſays that nothing follows as ſequel to *neither*, and ſuppoſes he gave it, "Which *never* his foreknowing can prevent." But *neither* is not always followed by *nor*, but ſometimes by *and;* and I wonder the doctor ſhould object to this manner of ſpeaking, when it is ſo frequent and ſo elegant in Latin. "Vide quid agas, *ne neque* illi profis, *et* tu pereas." Terence *Eun.* "Homo *neque* meo judicio ſtultus, *et* ſuo valde ſapiens." Cicero *de Oratore.* NEWTON.

Milton uſes the ſame Latiniſm in proſe: "In ſuch a poſture Chriſt found the Jews, who were *neither* won with the auſterity of John the Baptiſt, *and* thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who founded and proclaimed liberty and relief to all diſtreſſes." *Proſe Works*, vol i. p. 281, ed. 1698. TODD.

Ver. 777. ——————— *thoſe few eſcap'd*
Famine and anguiſh will at laſt conſume,] Ovid. *Met.* i. 311.

"Maxima pars undâ rapitur; quibus unda pepercit,
"Illos longa domant inopi jejunia victu." NEWTON.

With length of happy days the race of Man;
But I was far deceiv'd; for now I ſee
Peace to corrupt no leſs than war to waſte.
How comes it thus? unfold, celeſtial Guide,
And whether here the race of Man will end.
To whom thus Michael. Thoſe, whom laſt thou ſaw'ſt
In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
Firſt ſeen in acts of proweſs eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who, having ſpilt much blood, and done much waſte
Subduing nations, and achiev'd thereby
Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey;
Shall change their courſe to pleaſure, eaſe, and ſloth,
Surfeit, and luſt; till wantonneſs and pride
Raiſe out of friendſhip hoſtile deeds in peace.
The conquer'd alſo, and enſlav'd by war,
Shall, with their freedom loſt, all virtue loſe
And fear of God; from whom their piety feign'd

Ver. 798. *Shall, with their freedom loſt, all virtue loſe*] Milton every where ſhows his love of liberty; and here he obſerves very rightly, that the loſs of liberty is ſoon followed by the loſs of all virtue and religion. There are ſuch ſentiments in ſeveral parts of his *Proſe-Works*, as well as in Ariſtotle and other maſters of Politicks. NEWTON.

Ver. 799. ——— *from whom their piety feign'd*
In ſharp conteſt of battle found no aid
Againſt invaders; therefore, cool'd in zeal,
Thenceforth ſhall practiſe &c.] I conceive this to be unqueſtionably political. Milton was, it has been ſuppoſed,

In ſharp contéſt of battle found no aid
Againſt invaders; therefore, cool'd in zeal,
Thenceforth ſhall practice how to live ſecure,
Worldly or diſſolute, on what their lords
Shall leave them to enjoy; for the earth ſhall bear
More than enough, that temperance may be tried:
So all ſhall turn degenerate, all deprav'd;
Juſtice and temperance, truth and faith, forgot;
One man except, the only ſon of light
In a dark age, againſt example good,
Againſt allurement, cuſtom, and a world
Offended: fearleſs of reproach and ſcorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admoniſh; and before them ſet
The paths of righteouſneſs, how much more ſafe
And full of peace; denouncing wrath to come
On their impenitence; and ſhall return
Of them derided, but of God obſerv'd
The one juſt man alive; by his command
Shall build a wonderous ark, as thou beheldſt,

well aware of the "feign'd piety" of many of his own party, whom he had once conſidered as ſaints; and whoſe temporiſing at the reſtoration completed in his mind the hypocriſy of their character. Hypocriſy, it may be obſerved, Milton, in various parts of his poem, has branded as the moſt abominable of crimes.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 817. *Of them* derided, &c.] Alluding perhaps to *Wiſdom*, v. 3. "This is he whom we had ſometimes *in deriſion*, and a proverb of reproach. We fools accounted his life madneſs, and his end to be without honour. How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the ſaints!" See alſo chap. iv. 17. TODD.

To ſave himſelf, and houſhold, from amidſt
A world devote to univerſal wrack.
No ſooner he, with them of man and beaſt
Select for life, ſhall in the ark be lodg'd,
And ſhelter'd round; but all the cataracts
Of Heaven ſet open on the Earth ſhall pour
Rain, day and night; all fountains of the deep,
Broke up, ſhall heave the ocean to uſurp
Beyond all bounds; till inundation riſe
Above the higheſt hills: Then ſhall this mount

Ver. 824. ——————— *all the* cataracts
Of Heaven ſet open on the earth ſhall pour
Rain day and night; all fountains of the deep
Broke up,] *Gen.* vii. 11. "The ſame day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the *windows* of Heaven were opened." The *windows* of Heaven are tranſlated the *cataracts* in the Syriack and Arabick verſions, and in the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin, which Milton here follows; and what they are, thoſe will beſt underſtand who have ſeen the fallings of waters, called *ſpouts*, in hot countries, when the clouds do not break into drops, but fall with terrible violence in a torrent: and *the great deep* is the vaſt abyſs of waters contained within the bowels of the earth, and in the ſea. NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle cites Diodati, *Salmo* 78. "De l' alto ciel le *cateratte* aperte." The phraſe exiſts alſo in the Obſequies to the memory of Mr. King, Milton's Lycidas, edit. 4to. p. 14.

——————— "God open'd all
"Heaven's *cataracts*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 829. ——————— *then ſhall this mount*
Of Paradiſe &c.] It is the opinion of many learned men, that Paradiſe was deſtroyed by the Deluge; and Milton deſcribes it in a very poetical manner. *Puſh'd by the horned flood*, ſo that it was before the flood became univerſal, and while it poured along like a vaſt river; for rivers, when they meet with

Of Paradiſe by might of waves be mov'd
Out of his place, puſh'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure ſpoil'd, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf,
And there take root an iſland ſalt and bare,
The haunt of ſeals, and orcs, and ſea-mews' clang:

any thing to obſtruct their paſſage, divide themſelves and become *horned*, as it were; and hence the ancients have compared them to *bulls*. Thus Horace, *Od.* iv. xiv. 25.

" Sic *tauriformis* volvitur Aufidus."

And ſee Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 371, *Æn.* viii. 77. NEWTON.

See however Baxter's and Geſner's notes on the paſſage quoted from Horace. Mr. Bowle alſo cites Taſſo, *Gier. Lib.* C. ix. ſt. 46. And Arioſto, *Orl. Fur.* C. xliii. ſt. 53. I will illuſtrate Milton's expreſſion by an inſtance or two in our own elder poetry. Thus, in Ben Jonſon's *Fox*, " the *horned flood*" occurs, A. iii. S. vii. And in Browne's *Brit. Paſtorals*, B. ii. S. v.

" And now the *horned flood* bore to our ile
" His head more high, &c." TODD.

Ver. 833. *Down the great river to the opening gulf,*] Down the river Tigris or Euphrates to the Perſian gulf: They were both rivers of Eden; and Euphrates particularly is called in Scripture *the great river, the river Euphrates*, Gen. xv. 18. It is very probable that Milton took the firſt thought of puſhing Paradiſe by the force of floods into the ſea from Homer, who deſcribes the deſtruction of the Grecian wall by an inundation very much in the ſame poetical manner, *Iliad.* xii. 24.

Τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε σῶμαι' ἐφαπτὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἰέι ῥόον· ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς
Συνεχὲς, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἁλίπλοα τείχεα θείῃ. NEWTON.

Ver. 835. ———— orcs,] *Orcs* are often mentioned, as Dr. Heylin has obſerved, in Arioſto; as they alſo are in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, and in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*. It is a ſpecies of whale, and derives its name " ab ore, cujus, ut et totius corporis,

To teach thee that God attributes to place
No ſanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
And now, what further ſhall enſue, behold.
He look'd, and ſaw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,

figura eſt rotunda et extrema admodum tenuis." See Franzii Hiſt. Animal. Sacra, pars iii. cap. iii. TODD.

Ibid. ——————— clang:] See alſo *clang*, B. vii. 422, the poet adopting the *clangor* of the Latins, which is a word that they almoſt conſtantly uſe to expreſs the noiſe made by the flight of large flocks of birds. THYER.

Ver. 836. *To teach thee that God attributes to place*
No ſanctity, &c.] Milton omits no opportunity of laſhing what he thought ſuperſtitious. Theſe lines may ſerve as one inſtance; and I think he plainly here alludes to the manner of conſecrating churches uſed by Archbiſhop Laud, which was prodigiouſly clamoured againſt by people of our author's way of thinking, as ſuperſtitious and popiſh. THYER.

Milton is ſuppoſed to have been here indebted to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*. See A. iv. S. iv. edit. Seward, 1750, vol. vi.

" 'Tis not *high Power that makes a place divine*,
" Nor that the men from Gods derive their line;
" But *ſacred thoughts, in holy boſom ſtor'd*,
" *Make* people noble, and *the place ador'd*." TODD.

Ver. 840. ——————— *the ark* hull *on the flood*,] A ſhip is ſaid to *hull*, as Mr. Richardſon has obſerved, when all her ſails are taken down, and ſhe floats to and fro. Thus Donne, in his *Progreſs of the Soul*, ſt. xxxi.

" A great ſhip overſet, or without ſail
" *Hulling*." TODD.

Ver. 841. *Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,*
Driven by a keen north-wind,] The Scripture ſays only that God made a wind to paſs over the earth; it is moſt pro-

Driven by a keen north-wind, that, blowing dry,
Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;

bable that it was a north-wind, as that is ſuch a drying wind: but our poet follows Ovid in this as well as ſeveral other particulars, *Met.* i. 328.

" Nubila disjecit; nimbíſque Aquilone remotis,
" Et cœlo terras oſtendit, et æthera terris.——
" Jam mare littus habet; plenos capit alveus amnes;
" Flumina ſubſidunt; colles exire videntur;
" Surgit humus; &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 843. *Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;*] This alluſive compariſon of the ſurface of the decreaſing waters, wrinkled by the wind, to the wrinkles of a decaying old age, is very far fetched and extremely boyiſh; but the author makes us ample amends, in the remaining part of this deſcription of the abating of the flood. The circumſtances of it are few, but ſelected with great judgement, and expreſſed with no leſs ſpirit and beauty. In this reſpect, it muſt be owned, Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their deſcriptions, and think they have never ſaid enough whilſt any thing remains unſaid. When once enough is ſaid to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is repreſenting, whatever is added, however beautiful, ſerves only to teize the fancy inſtead of pleaſing it; and rather cools, than improves, that glow of pleaſure, which ariſes in the mind upon its firſt contemplation of any ſurprizing ſcene of nature well painted out. Of this Milton was very ſenſible, and throughout his whole poem has ſcarcely ever been hurried, by his imagination, into any thing inconſiſtent with it. THYER.

It is not improbable that Milton might here adopt the expreſſion *wrinkled* from a poet, with whoſe writings he ſeems to have been pleaſed by his occaſional imitation and improvement of paſſages in them; a poet worthy indeed of notice, though Mr. Warton has termed him forgotten and obſcure; I mean Habington, who, in his *Caſtara*, ed. 1635, p. 81, thus writes:

——————— " The courteous *ſea*
" Shall ſmooth her *wrinkled brow;* the winds ſhall ſleepe,
" Or onely whiſper muſicke to the deepe:"

And the clear ſun on his wide watery glaſs
Gaz'd hot, and of the freſh wave largely drew,
As after thirſt; which made their flowing ſhrink
From ſtanding lake to tripping ebb, that ſtole
With ſoft foot towards the deep; who now had ſtopt
His ſluces, as the Heaven his windows ſhut.
The ark no more now floats, but ſeems on ground,

In which paſſage may be obſerved alſo a reſemblance of the Miltonick expreſſion, "While the north-*wind* ſleeps," P. L. B. ii. 49, as indeed in another part of *Caſtara* the whole phraſe occurs, p. 161.

"Where *ſleeps the north-wind*, when the ſouth inſpires
"Life in the ſpring, &c." TODD.

Ver. 846. ——— *which made* their *flowing ſhrink*] *Their* I ſuppoſe refers to *wave* before mentioned as a noun of multitude, of the plural number. It is not eaſy to account for the ſyntax otherwiſe. NEWTON.

Ver. 847. *From ſtanding lake to* tripping *ebb*,] Tripping, from *tripudiare*, to dance, to ſtep lightly upon the toes; a natural deſcription of *ſoft-ebbing*, as in B. vii. 300: And ſo it follows, *that ſtole with ſoft foot*. This bold perſonizing is perpetually uſed by the Greek, and conſequently by the Latin, poets, who always imitate them. Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 47.

——— "montibus altis
"Levis crepante Lympha deſilit pede." RICHARDSON.

In Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the phraſe *tripping* is uſually applied to the rivers perſonified: Thus, in Song xiii. "the Avon *trips* along;" in Song xv. "the Iſis from her ſource comes *tripping* with delight;" and in Song xxvi. "Darwin from her fount comes *tripping* down towards Trent." Hence perhaps the expreſſion, "*tripping* ebb." TODD.

Ver. 848. ——— *the deep; who now had* ſtopt *His ſluces*, &c.] See *Gen.* viii. 2, &c. NEWTON.

Faſt on the top of ſome high mountain fix'd.
And now the tops of hills, as rocks, appear;
With clamour thence the rapid currents drive,
Towards the retreating ſea, their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
And after him, the ſurer meſſenger,
A dove ſent forth once and again to ſpy
Green tree or ground, whereon his foot may light:
The ſecond time returning, in his bill
An olive-leaf he brings, pacifick ſign:
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient ſire deſcends, with all his train;
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heaven, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
Conſpicuous with three liſted colours gay,
Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.

Ver. 866. *Conſpicuous with* three liſted *colours gay,*] He afterwards calls it "the *triple*-colour'd bow," v. 897; and he means probably the *three* principal colours, red, yellow, and blue, of which the others are compounded. NEWTON.

The "*three* colours," Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, are according to the Peripatetick Philoſophy. See Ariſtotelis Opp. 1629, vol. ii. p. 575. Sylveſter, in his tranſlation of *Du Bartas*, aſſigns only three colours to the bow, "a golden hew, green, and an orient blew," Day 2, Week 2. And Drummond alſo mentions the ſame number, "azure, green, and red." See his beautiful Sonnet in the note on P. L. B. iv. 641. *Liſted*, i. e. *ſtriped*, is the Italian word *liſtato*. See Vocab. Della Cruſc. And Arioſto, as noticed by Mr. Dunſter, *Orl. Fur.* C. x. 82.

"E di nero et d' azur *liſtato* un panno." TODD.

Whereat the heart of Adam, erſt ſo ſad,
Greatly rejoic'd; and thus his joy broke forth.
O thou, who future things canſt repreſent
As preſent, heavenly Inſtructer! I revive
At this laſt ſight; aſſur'd that Man ſhall live,
With all the creatures, and their ſeed preſerve.
Far leſs I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked ſons deſtroy'd, than I rejoice
For one man found ſo perfect, and ſo juſt,
That God vouchſafes to raiſe another world
From him, and all his anger to forget.
But ſay, what mean thoſe colour'd ſtreaks in Heaven
Diſtended, as the brow of God appeas'd?
Or ſerve they, as a flowery verge, to bind
The fluid ſkirts of that ſame watery cloud,
Leſt it again diſſolve, and ſhower the earth?
To whom the Arch-Angel. Dextrouſly thou aim'ſt;

Ver. 880. ——— *as the* brow *of God appeas'd?*] Fenton propoſed to read "the *bow* of God." But the ſublimity of Milton's expreſſion, "the *brow* of God appeas'd," is too obvious to require any alteration. TODD.

Ver. 884. *To whom the Arch-Angel*, &c.] The reader will eaſily obſerve how much of this ſpeech is built upon Scripture.

"Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd,
"Griev'd at his heart, ——"

"And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." *Gen.* vi. 6.

So willingly doth God remit his ire, 885

——————— " when looking down he ſaw
" The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all fleſh
" Corrupting each their way; —"

" The earth alſo was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth.' ver. 11, 12.

" Such grace ſhall one juſt man find in his ſight,"

" But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," ver. 8.

" And makes a covenant never to deſtroy
" The earth again by flood," ——

" And I will eſtabliſh my covenant with you, neither ſhall all fleſh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither ſhall there be any more a flood to deſtroy the earth." *Gen.* ix. 11.

——————— " but when he brings
" Over the earth a cloud, will therein ſet
" His triple-colour'd bow, whereon to look,
" And call to mind his covenant:"—

" And it ſhall come to paſs when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow ſhall be ſeen in the cloud: and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlaſting covenant between God and every living creature of all fleſh that is upon the earth," ver. 14, 16.

——————— " day and night,
" Seed-time and harveſt, heat and hoary froſt
" Shall hold their courſe,"——

" While the earth remaineth, ſeed-time and harveſt, and cold and heat, and ſummer and winter, and day and night ſhall not ceaſe," *Gen.* viii. 22.

——————— " till fire purge all things new,
" Both Heaven and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell."

" The Heavens being on fire ſhall be diſſolved, and the elements ſhall melt with fervent heat: nevertheleſs we, according to his

Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd;
Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he ſaw
The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all fleſh
Corrupting each their way; yet, thoſe remov'd,
Such grace ſhall one juſt man find in his ſight,
That he relents, not to blot out mankind;
And makes a covenant never to deſtroy
The earth again by flood; nor let the ſea
Surpaſs his bounds; nor rain to drown the world,
With man therein or beaſt; but, when he brings
Over the earth a cloud, will therein ſet
His triple-coloured bow, whereon to look,
And call to mind his covenant: Day and night,
Seed-time and harveſt, heat and hoary froſt,
Shall hold their courſe; till fire purge all things new,

promiſe, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs." II *Pet.* iii. 12, 13. NEWTON.

Ver. 886. *Though late repenting him*] Fenton ſeems to have miſunderſtood this paſſage, by his pointing of this line; which has been followed in ſome ſucceeding editions:

" Though late, repenting him &c."

Dr. Bentley removed the comma after late, agreeably to Milton's own, and all the old, editions. For the ſenſe is, " Though *lately* repenting him, &c." TODD.

Ver. 895. *With man therein or beaſt*;] Dr. Bentley reads *With man or beaſt or fowl;* becauſe (as he ſays) the birds are here forgot, and yet they were in the ark as well as the beaſts, and were included in the covenant too. But, in the Scripture phraſe, *man and beaſt* comprehend the birds too: See *Pſal.* xxxvi. 6.

Both Heaven and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell.

Jerem. xxi. 6, and xxxii. 43. And our poet has twice before (ver. 733, 822,) ſpoken of all the inhabitants of the ark under this very title of *man and beaſt*. PEARCE.

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

TWELFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Angel Michael continues, from the Flood, to relate what ſhall ſucceed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman ſhall be, which was promiſed Adam and Eve in the Fall; his incarnation, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion; the ſtate of the church till his ſecond coming. Adam, greatly ſatisfied and recomforted by theſe relations and promiſes, deſcends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had ſlept, but with gentle dreams compoſed to quietneſs of mind and ſubmiſſion. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradiſe, the fiery ſword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their ſtations to guard the place.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

As one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on ſpeed; ſo here the Arch-Angel paus'd
Betwixt the world deſtroy'd and world reſtor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpoſe;
Then, with tranſition ſweet, new ſpeech reſumes.

Ver. 1. *As one* &c.] In the firſt edition, before the laſt book was divided into two, the narration went on without any interruption; but, upon that diviſion in the ſecond edition, theſe firſt five lines were inſerted. This addition begins the book very gracefully, and is indeed, to apply the author's own words, a *ſweet tranſition*. NEWTON.

The learned commentator ſeems not to have been aware of the claſſical meaning of *tranſitus* or *tranſitio orationis*. In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, it is conſidered and deſcribed in terms which here ſo particularly illuſtrate the expreſſion as uſed by our author, that the paſſage is well worth citing. "*Tranſitio* vocatur, quæ cùm oſtendit breviter quid dictum ſit, proponit item brevi quid ſequatur, &c. Proficit hæc aliquantum *exornatio* ad duas res; nam et quid dixerit commonet, et ad reliquum comparat auditorem." L. iv. c. 35. edit. Prouſt. And Quinctilian ſpeaks of the "*venuſti* tranſitus," and adds "Faciunt illa *jucundam* orationem." *Inſt. Orat.* ix. 2. DUNSTER.

Thus thou haſt ſeen one world begin, and end;
And Man, as from a ſecond ſtock, proceed.
Much thou haſt yet to ſee; but I perceive
Thy mortal ſight to fail; objects divine
Muſt needs impair and weary human ſenſe:
Henceforth what is to come I will relate;
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.

This ſecond ſource of Men, while yet but few,
And while the dread of judgement paſt remains
Freſh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
With ſome regard to what is juſt and right
Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace;
Labouring the ſoil, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn, wine, and oil; and, from the herd or flock,
Oft ſacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid,
With large wine-offerings pour'd, and ſacred feaſt,
Shall ſpend their days in joy unblam'd; and dwell
Long time in peace, by families and tribes,
Under paternal rule: till one ſhall riſe

Ver. 11. *Henceforth what is to come I will relate;*] The reader will have obſerved that Addiſon's objection to this part of the hiſtory being exhibited in narrative, is conſidered and anſwered in the notes on his *Critique*, in the ſecond volume of the preſent edition. TODD.

Ver. 16. *With ſome regard* &c.] This anſwers to the ſilver age of the poets; the Paradiſiacal ſtate is the golden one. That of iron begins ſoon, ver. 24. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 21. *With large wine-offerings pour'd,*] See *Exodus*, xxix. 40. TODD.

Ver. 24. ———— *till one ſhall riſe* &c.] It is generally agreed that the firſt governments in the world were patriarchal, *by*

Of proud ambitious heart; who, not content
With fair equality, fraternal ſtate,

families and tribes; and that Nimrod was the firſt, who laid the foundations of kingly government among mankind. Milton therefore (who was no friend to kingly government at the beſt) repreſents him in a very bad light, as a moſt wicked and inſolent tyrant; but he has great authorities, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, to juſtify him for ſo doing. The Scripture ſays of Nimrod, *Gen.* x. 9. that "*he was a mighty hunter before the Lord:*" And this our author underſtands in the worſt ſenſe, of hunting men and not beaſts——*and men not beaſts ſhall be his game.* But ſeveral commentators underſtand it in the ſame manner, and the Scripture applies the word to hunting of men by perſecution, oppreſſion and tyranny. *Jer.* xvi. 16. *Lam.* iv. 18. *Ezek.* xiii. 18, 20. And ſo the Jeruſalem Targum here expounds it of a *ſinful hunting of the ſons of men.* The phraſe *before the Lord* ſeems to be perfectly indifferent in itſelf, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration: but in this place the greateſt number of interpreters take it in a bad ſenſe, in the ſame manner as when it is ſaid of the men of Sodom that they were "*ſinners before the Lord,*" Gen. xiii. 13; and as alſo of Er, the eldeſt ſon of Judah, that he was "*wicked in the ſight of the Lord,*" Gen. xxxviii. 7. And St. Auſtin in particular would have it tranſlated not "*before* the Lord" but "*againſt* the Lord," Our author, in conformity to this opinion, ſays *Before the Lord, as in deſpite of Heaven,* but then takes in the other interpretation of Vatablus and others, that "*before* the Lord" is the ſame as "*under* the Lord," uſurping all authority to himſelf next under God, and claiming it *jure divino,* as was done in Milton's own time; *And from rebellion ſhall derive his name,* for the name Nimrod, though more favourable etymologies are given, yet commonly is derived from the Hebrew word *marad,* which ſignifies to *rebel;* and this probably was the principal occaſion of thoſe injurious reports which have prevailed in the world concerning him. *Though of rebellion others he accuſe.* This was added by our author, probably not without a view to his own time; when himſelf, and thoſe of his own party, were ſtigmatized as the worſt of rebels. NEWTON.

Will arrogate dominion undeſerv'd
Over his brethren, and quite diſpoſſeſs
Concord and law of nature from the earth;
Hunting (and men not beaſts ſhall be his game)
With war, and hoſtile ſnare, ſuch as refuſe
Subjection to his empire tyrannous:
A mighty hunter thence he ſhall be ſtyl'd
Before the Lord; as in deſpite of Heaven,
Or from Heaven, claiming ſecond ſovranty;
And from rebellion ſhall derive his name,
Though of rebellion others he accuſe.
He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
With him or under him to tyrannize,
Marching from Eden towards the weſt, ſhall find

The circumſtance of Nimrod's *hunting men*, is thus noticed in Sylveſter's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 253.

" Leaves hunting beaſts, and hunteth men to trap," TODD.

Ver. 40. *Marching from Eden towards the weſt*, &c.] *Gen.* xi. 2, &c. "And it came to paſs, as they journeyed from the eaſt, that they found a plain on the land of Shinar——And they had brick for ſtone, and *ſlime* had they for mortar. And they ſaid, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whoſe top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make us a name, leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." The Hebrew *chemar*, which we tranſlate *ſlime*, is what the Greeks call *aſphaltus* and the Latins *bitumen*, a kind of pitch; and that it abounded very much in the plain near Babylon, that it ſwam upon the waters, that there was a cave and fountain continually emitting it, and that this famous tower at this time, and the no leſs famous walls of Babylon afterwards, were built with this kind of cement, is confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral profane authors. This *black bituminous gurge*, this pitchy pool, the poet calls *the mouth of Hell*, not ſtrictly ſpeaking, but by the ſame ſort of figure by

The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell:
Of brick, and of that ſtuff, they caſt to build
A city and tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven;
And get themſelves a name; leſt, far diſpers'd
In foreign lands, their memory be loſt;
Regardleſs whether good or evil fame.
But God, who oft deſcends to viſit men
Unſeen, and through their habitations walks
To mark their doings, them beholding ſoon,
Comes down to ſee their city, ere the tower

which the ancient poets call Tænarus or Avernus the jaws and gate of Hell. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 467.

"Tænarias etiam fauces, alta oſtia Ditis." NEWTON.

The eruptions of the ſubterranean fires in the Court of Vulcan near the ancient Puteoli, which Milton in his travels had probably noticed, gave riſe to an opinion that the entrance to hell was there. "But if *this be hell*," ſays Sandys, "what a deſperate end made that unhappie German who not long ſince ſlipt into *theſe furnaces*, &c. The matter that doth nouriſh theſe ſubterranean fires, is ſulphure and *bitumen;* but there *it is fed by the latter*, where the flame doth mixe with the water, &c." Sandys's Travels, edit. fol. 1615, p. 269. We might compare alſo Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 31. And Gainsforde, in his *Hiſt. of Trebizond*, deſcribes a tempeſtuous, ſulphurous, and ſuffocating place by the expreſſion, "The very *entries of hell*," p. 116. ed. 1616. TODD.

Ver. 51. *Comes down to ſee their city*, &c.] As in *Gen.* xi. 5, &c. "And the Lord came down to ſee the city and the tower, which the children of men builded, &c." The Scripture ſpeaketh here after the manner of men: And thus the Heathen Gods are often repreſented as coming down to obſerve the actions of men; as in the ſtories of Lycaon, Baucis and Philemon, &c. NEWTON.

Obſtruct Heaven-towers; and in deriſion ſets
Upon their tongues a various ſpirit, to raſe
Quite out their native language; and, inſtead,
To ſow a jangling noiſe of words unknown:
Forthwith a hideous gabble riſes loud,
Among the builders; each to other calls
Not underſtood; till hoarſe, and all in rage,
As mock'd they ſtorm: great laughter was in Heaven,

Ver. 53. ——— *a various ſpirit,*] II *Chron.* xviii. 22. It is ſaid the Lord had put *a lying ſpirit* in the mouth of the prophets; here he puts *a various ſpirit* in the mouth of theſe builders, a ſpirit varying the ſounds by which they would expreſs their thoughts one to another, and bringing conſequently *confuſion;* whence the work is ſo called. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 59. ——— *great laughter* was *in Heaven,* &c.] Dr. Bentley has made ſome alterations here; and, the context conſidered, I know not whether they are not for the better:

——— " great laughter *is* in Heaven
" *All* looking down———
——— " thus *is* the building left:"

but afterwards I find the author varying the tenſe in ſeveral places, and ſpeaking of things future as paſt; future with regard to the time when the Angel is ſpeaking, but paſt with regard to the time which he is ſpeaking of. *Great laughter was in Heaven* &c. And thus Homer repreſents the Gods as laughing at the aukward limping carriage of Vulcan in waiting, *Iliad,* i. 599, &c. But, as Mr. Thyer adds, it is rather too comick for the grave character of Milton's Gods to be repreſented peeping down, and laughing, like a parcel of mere mortals, to ſee the workmen puzzled and ſquabbling about their work: though there are ſuch expreſſions even in Scripture, *Pſal.* ii. 4. " *He that ſitteth in the Heavens ſhall laugh; the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion.*" See alſo *Pſal.* xxxvii. 13, lix. 8, and *Prov.* i. 26. NEWTON.

And looking down, to ſee the hubbub ſtrange,
And hear the din: Thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work *Confuſion* nam'd.
Whereto thus Adam, fatherly diſpleas'd.
O execrable ſon! ſo to aſpire
Above his brethren; to himſelf aſſuming
Authority uſurp'd, from God not given:
He gave us only over beaſt, fiſh, fowl,
Dominion abſolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not lord; ſuch title to himſelf
Reſerving, human left from human free.

Ver. 60. ——— *to ſee the* hubbub *ſtrange,*] This word is made uſe of by Spenſer, as Mr. Bowle alſo obſerves, *Faer. Qu.* iii. x. 43.

" And ſhrieking *hububs* them approaching nere."

Milton thus employs it, B. ii. 951.

——— " a univerſal *hubbub* wild
" Of ſtunning ſounds and voices all confus'd." TODD.

Ver. 62. ——— *and the work* Confuſion *nam'd.*] For *Babel* in Hebrew ſignifies *Confuſion.* See *Gen.* xi. 9. As the poet repreſents this confuſion among the builders as an object of ridicule, ſo he makes uſe of ſome ridiculous words, which are not very uſual in poetry, to heighten that ridicule, as *jangling noiſe, hideous gabble, ſtrange hubbub.* NEWTON.

Hubbub, as I have obſerved, is uſed by Spenſer; and *jangling noiſe* may have been adopted from the deſcription of the confuſion of tongues, in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas,* 1621, p. 255.

" This ſaid, as ſoon confuſedly did bound
" Through all the work I wot not what ſtrange ſound,
" A *jangling noyſe.*" TODD.

Ver. 71. ——— *human left from human free.*] Left mankind in full and free poſſeſſion of their liberty. " Rationalem factum

But this uſurper his encroachment proud
Stays not on Man; to God his tower intends
Siege and defiance: Wretched man! what food
Will he convey up thither, to ſuſtain
Himſelf and his raſh army; where thin air
Above the clouds will pine his entrails groſs,
And famiſh him of breath, if not of bread?
To whom thus Michael. Juſtly thou abhorr'ſt
That ſon, who on the quiet ſtate of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to ſubdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapſe, true liberty

ad imaginem ſuam noluit niſi irrationalibus dominari, non homini homini, ſed hominem pecori." *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, c. 15, l. 19. HUME.

Ver. 73. ——— *to God his tower intends* &c.] This being not aſſerted in Scripture, but only ſuppoſed by ſome writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the Angel. I wiſh the poet had taken the ſame care in ver. 51.

——— " ere the tower
" Obſtruct Heaven-towers." NEWTON.

Ver. 81. *Such trouble* brought,] Dr. Bentley reads *brings*, becauſe this is not, he ſays, told here as a thing paſt. But Michael is not telling any thing here: he is only making a reflection upon what he had been telling Adam juſt before, in ver. 27; and it having been already told, the reflection made upon it may juſtly ſpeak of it as a thing paſt. PEARCE.

Ver. 83. *Since* thy *original lapſe*,] Thus it is in Milton's own editions. In Fenton's, Dr. Bentley's, and other editions, it is " Since *by* original lapſe," which makes hardly ſenſe or ſyntax. NEWTON.

Ibid. *Since thy original lapſe, true liberty*
Is loſt,] *John* viii. 34. " Whoſoever committeth ſin, is

Is loſt, which always with right reaſon dwells
Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
Reaſon in man obſcur'd, or not obey'd,
Immediately inordinate deſires,
And upſtart paſſions, catch the government
From reaſon; and to ſervitude reduce
Man, till then free. Therefore, ſince he permits
Within himſelf unworthy powers to reign
Over free reaſon, God, in judgement juſt,
Subjects him from without to violent lords;
Who oft as undeſervedly enthrall
His outward freedom: Tyranny muſt be;
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuſe.

the ſlave of ſin." II *Cor.* iii. 17. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." GILLIES.

Ver. 84. —— *which always with right reaſon dwells*
Twinn'd,] Some editions read *twin'd;* and Mr. Hume explains it *twiſted together* with right reaſon: But in Milton's own editions it is printed *twinn'd;* and I preſume he means *twinn'd at a birth* with right reaſon. Liberty and virtue (*which is reaſon*, ver. 98) are twin-ſiſters, and the one hath no being divided from the other. NEWTON.

Twinn'd is uſed by Shakſpeare, in a paſſage which ſeems here to have been in Milton's recollection, *Tim. of Ath.* A. iv. S. iii.

—————— "*twinn'd* brothers of one womb,
"Whoſe procreation, reſidence, and birth,
"Scarce is *dividant.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 95. —————— *Tyranny muſt be;*
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuſe.] The turn of he words is ſimilar to the following paſſage in Scripture, to which Mr. Stillingfleet alſo refers: "It muſt needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh," *Matt.* xviii. 7. TODD.

Yet ſometimes nations will decline ſo low
From virtue, which is reaſon, that no wrong,
But juſtice, and ſome fatal curſe annex'd,
Deprives them of their outward liberty;
Their inward loſt: Witneſs the irreverent ſon
Of him who built the ark; who, for the ſhame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curſe,
Servant of ſervants, on his vicious race.
Thus will this latter, as the former world,
Still tend from bad to worſe; till God at laſt,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw

Ver. 97. *Yet ſometimes nations will decline ſo low* &c.] So, in his *Hiſt. of Britain*, B. v. c. 1. "But when God hath decreed ſervitude on a ſinful nation, *fitted by their own vices for no condition but ſervile*, all eſtates of government are alike unable to avoid it." TODD.

Ver. 101. ——— *Witneſs the irreverent ſon* &c.] See *Gen.* ix. 22, 25. HUME.

Does not Milton here forget, that the Angel had not before mentioned the ſtory of Ham's uncovering his father's nakedneſs? The urging it by way of example ſeems to infer its being known to Adam, which yet it could not be. THYER.

Ver. 103. ——— this] So it is in Milton's own editions, but in others "*his* heavy curſe." NEWTON.

The corruption firſt occurs in Tonſon's edition of 1711, and is followed in Tickell's, Fenton's, and Bentley's. TODD.

Ver. 105. *Thus will this latter, as the former world,*
Still tend from bad to worſe;] Almoſt a literal tranſlation from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 951.

Εἰ γὰρ κατ' ἀνδρὸς βίοτον ἐξογκώσεται,
Ὁ δ' ὕστερος τῷ πρόσθεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
Πανοῦργος ἔσται, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Ver 107. *Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw*

His preſence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes; reſolving from thenceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to ſelect
From all the reſt, of whom to be invok'd,
A nation from one faithful man to ſpring:
Him on this ſide Euphrates yet reſiding,
Bred up in idol-worſhip: O, that men
(Canſt thou believe?) ſhould be ſo ſtupid grown,
While yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'ſcap'd the flood,

His preſence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes:] See *Iſaiah* xliii. 24, *Hoſea*, v. 6, *Habak.* i. 13, and *Pſal.* v. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 114. *Him on this ſide Euphrates* yet *reſiding*,] That is, not *yet* when Michael was ſpeaking; but *yet*, when God reſolved to ſelect one peculiar nation from all the reſt, ver. 111. No need therefore for Dr. Bentley's word *then*, inſtead of *yet*. PEARCE.

Ver. 115. *Bred up in idol-worſhip:*] We read in *Joſhua* xxiv. 2. "Your fathers dwelt on the other ſide of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they ſerved other Gods." Now as Terah, Abraham's father, was an idolater, I think we may be certain that Abraham was bred up in the religion of his father, though he renounced it afterwards, and in all probability converted his father likewiſe; for Terah removed with Abraham to Haran, and there died. See *Gen.* xi. 31, 32. NEWTON.

Ver. 117. *While yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'ſcap'd the flood*,] It appears from the computations given by Moſes, *Gen.* xi. that Terah, the father of Abraham, was born 222 years after the flood, but *Noah lived after the flood* 350 *years*. Gen. ix. 28: and we have proved from Joſhua, that Terah, and the anceſtors of Abraham, *ſerved other Gods;* and from the Jewiſh traditions we learn further, that Terah, and Nachor his father, and Serug his grandfather, were ſtatuaries and carvers of idols: And therefore

As to forſake the living God, and fall
To worſhip their own work in wood and ſtone
For Gods! Yet him God the Moſt High vouchſafes
To call by viſion, from his father's houſe,
His kindred, and falſe Gods, into a land
Which he will ſhow him; and from him will raiſe
A mighty nation; and upon him ſhower
His benediction ſo, that in his ſeed
All nations ſhall be bleſt: he ſtraight obeys;
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:
I ſee him, but thou canſt not, with what faith

idolatry was ſet up in the world, *while yet the patriarch liv'd, who 'ſcap'd the flood.* NEWTON.

Ver. 118. *As to forſake the living God,* &c.] See *Heb.* iii. 12, and *Iſaiah* i. 8, xxvii. 19.. DUNSTER.

Ver. 120. ——— *Yet* him *&c.*] The ſame *him* repeated as in ver. 114. See *Gen.* xii. 1, 2, 3. NEWTON.

Compare *Judith* v. 7, 8, 9. TODD.

Ver. 126. ——— *he ſtraight obeys;*
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:] See *Heb.* xi. 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 128. *I ſee him, but thou canſt not,* &c.] Milton, ſenſible that this long hiſtorical deſcription might grow irkſome, has varied the manner of repreſenting it as much as poſſible; beginning firſt with ſuppoſing Adam to have a proſpect of it before his eyes; next, by making the Angel the relater of it; and laſtly, by uniting the two former methods, and making Michael ſee it as in viſion, and give a rapturous enlivened account of it to Adam. This gives great eaſe to the languiſhing attention of the reader.
THYER.

Oberon thus obſerves to Puck, in Shakſpeare's *Midſ. N. Dream,* A. ii. S. i.

He leaves his Gods, his friends, and native ſoil,
Ur of Chaldæa, paſſing now the ford 130

" That very time *I ſaw, (but thou could'ſt not,)*
" Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
" Cupid all arm'd." DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. *Ur of Chaldæa,* &c.] See *Gen.* xi. 31. *Chaldæa,* a province of Aſia, lying eaſt of the Euphrates, and weſt of the Tigris: *Ur,* a city of Chaldæa, the country of Abraham and Terah. *Paſſing now the ford,* paſſing over the river Euphrates where it was fordable, *to Haran:* By this it ſhould ſeem, that Milton conceived *Haran* to lie weſt of the river Euphrates; and I find M. Baſnage, in his *Antiquities of the Jews,* maintains, that *Haran* was a town, at preſent unknown, out of the limits of Meſopotamia, in Syria of Shobah, in the way towards the land of Canaan. NEWTON.

That Milton never meant to ſuppoſe *Haran* or *Charran* where Abraham firſt migrated, to have been in Canaan, is clear from ver. 135, where, deſcribing the progreſſive journey of the patriarch, he ſeemingly ſuppoſes him to have advanced conſiderably from Haran, when he ſays, " Canaan he now attains." It would be indeed ſufficient here to ſay, that when Milton wrote his poem, Haran, the firſt reſidence of Abraham in his migration, ſeems to have been admitted unqueſtionably to have been in Meſopotamia. Baſnage had not then conſidered theſe things, being born only in 1653. Milton, I conceive, in his geographical ideas, here followed Bochart, whoſe *Geographia Sacra* was publiſhed in 1651, when Milton was ſtill able himſelf to peruſe it. He would there find Haran or Charran laid down nearly in the direct way from Ur of the Chaldees, and on the weſtern ſide of the *river Chebar.* He might well ſuppoſe the road to Haran *leading to a ford on this river.* But he would at all events be pleaſed to imagine ſuch a circumſtance, as it affords him an opportunity of introducing the picturesque deſcription of Abraham with his long train of flocks, herds, family, and ſervants, paſſing in proceſſion the river; which deſcription I conſider as a fortunate application of the account given of Jacob's returning from Meſopotamia into Canaan, *Gen.* xxxii. 13, 16, 22, 23. DUNSTER.

To Haran; after him a cumbrous train
Of herds and flocks, and numerous ſervitude;
Not wandering poor, but truſting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.
Canaan he now attains; I ſee his tents
Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
Of Moreh; there by promiſe he receives
Gift to his progeny of all that land,
From Hamath northward to the Deſart ſouth;
(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd;)
From Hermon eaſt to the great weſtern Sea;
Mount Hermon, yonder ſea; each place behold
In proſpect, as I point them; on the ſhore
Mount Carmel; here, the double-founted ſtream,
Jordan, true limit eaſtward; but his ſons
Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.

Ver. 132. ——————— *numerous ſervitude;*] Many ſervants; the abſtract for the concrete. NEWTON.

Ver. 139. *From Hamath northward* &c.] As the poet, in deſcribing the departure and journey of Abraham, has minutely copied the ſacred text, *Gen.* xii. 5, 6, 7; ſo here, in his exact account of the Promiſed Land, he interweaves, as Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have obſerved, the following texts of Scripture, *Numb.* xxxiv. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, and *Deut.* iii. 8, 9; ſubjoining the promiſe of the Meſſiah, made to Abraham, *Gen.* xii. 3. The compound epithet, applied to Jordan, in ver. 144, might have been ſuggeſted by Sandys, who, in his account of the Holy Land, ſays it is "watred by many ſprings and torrents, but not many riuers. *Iordan*, the prince of the reſt: ſeeming to ariſe from *Ior*, and *Dan*, *two* not far diſtant *fountaines*." Travels, &c. edit. 1615, p. 141. The "*double ſource*" of Jordan, Mr. Dunſter remarks, is mentioned alſo by Du Bartas, and his tranſlator, Sylveſter, ed. 1621, p. 49. TODD.

This ponder, that all nations of the earth
Shall in his ſeed be bleſſed: By that ſeed
Is meant thy great Deliverer, who ſhall bruiſe
The Serpent's head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier ſhall be reveal'd. This patriarch bleſt,
Whom faithful Abraham due time ſhall call,
A ſon, and of his ſon a grand-child, leaves;
Like him in faith, in wiſdom, and renown:
The grand-child, with twelve ſons encreas'd, departs
From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd
Egypt, divided by the river Nile;
See where it flows, diſgorging at ſeven mouths
Into the ſea: To ſojourn in that land

Ver. 147. *This ponder,*] As if he had ſaid, "I mention other things for your information, but this you ſhould particularly remember, and meditate upon." NEWTON.

Ver. 152. *Whom faithful* Abraham due *time ſhall call,*] Afterwards he conſtantly pronounces *Abraham* two ſyllables, or three ſhort ones. So that to make this uniform with the reſt, let it be "Whom faithful Abraham *future* time ſhall call." BENTLEY.

Milton, I believe, intended to make the name *Abraham* here conſiſt of three ſyllables, in alluſion to God's adding a ſyllable to it, *Gen.* xvii. 5. "Neither ſhall thy name any more be called *Abram*, but thy name ſhall be *Abraham*." PEARCE.

Ver. 155. ——— *with twelve ſons encreas'd,*] A Latiniſm; as Plautus, *Trucul.* ii. vi. 34. "Cúmque ea aucta liberis." See alſo Tacitus, *Agric.* cap. vi. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 158. *See where it flows, diſgorging at ſeven mouths*] This pointing to the river adds a livelineſs to the narration; and the ancient poets ſeldom mention the river Nile, without taking notice of its *ſeven mouths.* See Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 800, Ovid, *Met.* i. 422, and *Met.* ii. 256. NEWTON.

He comes, invited by a younger ſon
In time of dearth; a ſon, whoſe worthy deeds
Raiſe him to be the ſecond in that realm
Of Pharaoh: There he dies, and leaves his race
Growing into a nation, and now grown
Suſpected to a ſequent king, who ſeeks
To ſtop their overgrowth, as inmate gueſts
Too numerous; whence of gueſts he makes them ſlaves
Inhoſpitably, and kills their infant males:
Till by two brethren (theſe two brethren call
Moſes and Aaron) ſent from God to claim
His people from enthralment, they return,
With glory and ſpoil, back to their promis'd land.
But firſt, the lawleſs tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or meſſage to regard,
Muſt be compell'd by ſigns and judgements dire;
To blood unſhed the rivers muſt be turn'd;
Frogs, lice, and flies, muſt all his palace fill
With loath'd intruſion, and fill all the land;
His cattle muſt of rot and murren die;
Botches and blains muſt all his fleſh emboſs,
And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
Hail mix'd with fire, muſt rend the Egyptian ſky,

Ver. 180. *Botches and blains muſt all his fleſh* emboſs,] *Emboſs* ſignifies to *ſwell*, as in Shakſpeare's *King Lear*, A. iv. S. ii.

——————" thou art a boil,
" A plague-ſore, an *emboſſed* carbuncle."

Again, in *As you like it*, A. ii. S. vii.

" And all the *emboſſed* ſores, and headed evils." TODD.

And wheel on the earth, devouring where it rolls;
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
A darkſome cloud of locuſts ſwarming down
Muſt eat, and on the ground leave nothing green;
Darkneſs muſt overſhadow all his bounds,
Palpable darkneſs, and blot out three days;
Laſt, with one midnight ſtroke, all the firſt-born
Of Egypt muſt lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tam'd at length ſubmits
To let his ſojourners depart, and oft

Ver. 188. *Palpable darkneſs.*] "Darkneſs that may be felt," ſays our tranſlation. In the vulgar Latin it is, "Tam denſæ ut *palpari* queant;" from which our author ſeems to have fetched the word *palpable*. NEWTON.

Milton, perhaps, in this deſcription of the plagues of Egypt, rather alluded to Drayton, *Moſes's birth*, &c. 1630, B. ii.

"*Darkneſſe* is now ſo *palpable*—"

Thus alſo Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, deſcribing the ſame event, B. iii. ſt. 32. 1642.

"Did not a *palpable* thick night invade
"The land of Egypt —"

See likewiſe the Preface of the *Tranſlators of the Bible*. "Some thick and *palpable* clouds of *darkneſs* would have ſo overſhadowed this land that men would have been in doubt which way they were to walk." Hence probably "the *palpable obſcure*," Par. L. B. ii. 406. TODD.

Ver. 191. The *river-dragon*] The firſt edition has "*This* river-dragon;" but, in the ſecond edition, it is altered to *The*, whether by the poet's direction, or by a miſtake of the printer, we cannot tell. PEARCE.

The river-dragon, as Addiſon has obſerved, is *Pharaoh*, in alluſion to *Ezek.* xxix. 3. Compare P. L. B. i. 307. TODD.

Humbles his ſtubborn heart; but ſtill, as ice
More harden'd after thaw; till, in his rage
Purſuing whom he late diſmiſs'd, the ſea
Swallows him with his hoſt; but them lets paſs,
As on dry land, between two cryſtal walls;
Aw'd by the rod of Moſes ſo to ſtand
Divided, till his reſcued gain their ſhore:
Such wondrous power God to his ſaint will lend,
Though preſent in his Angel; who ſhall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire;
By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire;
To guide them in their journey, and remove
Behind them, while the obdurate king purſues:
All night he will purſue; but his approach
Darkneſs defends between till morning watch;

Ver. 193. ——————— *as ice*
More harden'd after thaw;] For ice, gently warmed into a thaw, is made more receptive of thoſe ſaline and nitrous particles, which fill the freezing air, and, inſinuating themſelves into the water already weakened, are the cauſe of a harder concretion. Virg. *Georg.* iii. 366.

" Stiriáque impexis induruit horrida barbis."

Iſicles freeze, as they drop, into a wonderful hardneſs. HUME.

Ver. 197. ——————— *between two cryſtal walls*;] See the note on *Par. L.* B. vii. 293. TODD.

Ver. 206. ——————— *but his approach* &c.] Exodus, xiv, 19, 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 207. *Darkneſs* defends] Darkneſs *forbids*, or *keeps off*. So, in B. xi. 86. " That *defended* fruit :" where Hume has cited, from Chaucer's *Wife of Bathes Prologue*,

" Wher can ye ſeen in any maner age
" That highe God *defended* mariage."

Then through the fiery pillar, and the cloud,
God looking forth will trouble all his hoſt,
And craze their chariot-wheels: when by command
Moſes once more his potent rod extends
Over the ſea; the ſea his rod obeys;
On their embattled ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war: The race elect

Thus alſo Spenſer, as Dr. Newton obſerves, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iii. 32.

"Himſelf to ſave, and daunger to *defend*."

This, I may add, is the common ſenſe of *defend* in our ancient laws and ſtatutes. See Cunningham's *Law-Dict.* where many inſtances occur under the word *defend*. And thus the ſubſtantive *defence* for *prohibition*, as in Chaucer, *Troil. and Creſſid.* lib. iii. 138. "If that I brekin your *defence*." TODD.

Ver. 210. *And* craze *their chariot-wheels:*] Bruiſe or break them in pieces. *Craze* from the French *ecraſer*, to bruiſe or break. So, in B. i. 311, the chariot wheels are ſaid to have been broken, though in *Exod.* xvi. 25, 'tis only ſaid they were *taken off*, ſo that the chariots were *driven heavily*. Milton, who perfectly underſtood the original, has therefore expounded this *taking off* to be *breaking;* though that may mean no more, than what we do when we ſay ſuch a one is *crazy*, broken with age and diſabled. RICHARDSON.

"The pot was *craſed*," is in Chaucer. See Lye's *Junius* upon the word *craſie*. NEWTON.

Ver. 212. ——————— *the* ſea *his rod* obeys;] Thus in Sylveſter's *Du Bartas*, as Mr. Dunſter obſerves, p. 362.

"He ſmote the ſea with his dead-living rod;
"The *ſea obey'd* —"

But we muſt alſo refer to *Matt.* viii. 28. "Even the winds and the *ſea obey* him." TODD.

Ver. 214. ——————— *The race elect* &c.] It

Safe towards Canaan from the ſhore advance
Through the wild Deſart, not the readieſt way;
Leſt, entering on the Canaanite alarm'd,
War terrify them inexpert, and fear
Return them back to Egypt, chooſing rather
Inglorious life with ſervitude; for life
To noble and ignoble is more ſweet
Untrain'd in arms, where raſhneſs leads not on.
This alſo ſhall they gain by their delay
In the wide wilderneſs; there they ſhall found
Their government, and their great ſenate chooſe
Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd:
God from the mount of Sinai, whoſe gray top

is remarkable, that here Milton omits the moral cauſe (though he gives the poetical) of the Iſraelites wandering forty years in the wilderneſs; and this was their poltron mutiny on the return of the ſpies. He omitted this with judgement; for this laſt ſpeech of the Angel was to give ſuch a repreſentation of things, as might convey comfort to Adam: otherwiſe the ſtory of the brazen ſerpent would have afforded noble imagery.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 216. ——————— *not the readieſt way*; &c.] See *Exod.* xiii. 17, 18. HUME.

Ver. 218. War *terrify them* inexpert,] *Inexpert in war* is a claſſical phraſe. "Hiſpaniæ præerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus, et pacis artibus, *bellis inexpertus*. Tacit. *Hiſt.* l. i. c. viii.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 227. ——————— *whoſe* gray *top*] An uſual epithet of mountains; becauſe the ſnow lies longer there than in the vallies, and upon ſome of their lofty brows all the year long.

Shall tremble, he deſcending, will himſelf
In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets' ſound,
Ordain them laws; part, ſuch as appertain
To civil juſtice; part, religious rites
Of ſacrifice; informing them, by types
And ſhadows, of that deſtin'd Seed to bruiſe
The Serpent, by what means he ſhall achieve
Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful: They beſeech

——" gelidus *canis* cum montibus humor
" Liquitur." Virg. *Georg.* i. 43. HUME.

But this epithet was more proper and peculiar to Sinai at that time, as it was covered with *clouds* and *ſmoke*. See *Exodus* xix. 16, 18. NEWTON.

Ver. 228. —— he *deſcending*,] Dr. Bentley reads " *him* deſcending." But, " *he* deſcending" is right. For, as Dr. Lowth has obſerved, the *caſe abſolute* in Engliſh, is the *nominative*. See alſo the note, B. ix. 130. TODD.

Ver. 230, &c. 245, &c. By theſe paſſages Milton ſeems to have underſtood no more of the Jewiſh inſtitution than he ſaw in the ſmall Preſbyterian ſyſtems; otherwiſe the true idea of the theocracy would have afforded ſome noble obſervations.
WARBURTON.

Milton ſpeaks of the civil and the ritual, that is, the judicial and the ceremonial, precepts delivered to the Jews; but why did he omit the moral law contained in the ten commandments? Poſſibly his reaſon might be, becauſe this was ſuppoſed to be written originally in the heart of Man, and therefore Adam muſt have been perfectly acquainted with it: but however I think, this ſhould have been particularly mentioned, as it was publiſhed at this time in the moſt ſolemn manner by God from mount Sinai; and as it was thought worthy to be written with his own finger upon two tables of ſtone, when the reſt was conveyed to the

That Moſes might report to them his will,
And terrour ceaſe; he grants what they beſought,
Inſtructed that to God is no acceſs
Without Mediator, whoſe high office now
Moſes in figure bears; to introduce
One greater, of whoſe day he ſhall foretel,
And all the Prophets in their age the times
Of great Meſſiah ſhall ſing. Thus, laws and rites
Eſtabliſh'd, ſuch delight hath God in Men
Obedient to his will, that he vouchſafes
Among them to ſet up his tabernacle;
The Holy One with mortal Men to dwell:
By his preſcript a ſanctuary is fram'd
Of cedar, overlaid with gold; therein
An ark, and in the ark his teſtimony,
The records of his covenant; over theſe
A mercy-ſeat of gold, between the wings
Of two bright Cherubim; before him burn

people by the writing and preaching of Moſes, as a mediator between God and them. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 237. *That Moſes* might *report*] Dr. Bentley would read "*may* report." NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ——— *he grants* what they beſought] In the firſt edition it was thus, "he grants *them their deſire;*" but in the ſecond it was altered to this, "he grants *what they beſought:*" I ſuppoſe that the conſtruction might be plainer in what follows, *Inſtructed that to God* &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 241. *Moſes in figure bears;*] Compare *Heb.* ix. 19, 24. HUME.

Ver. 242. ——— *of whoſe day he ſhall foretel,* &c.] See *Acts* iii. 22, 24. NEWTON.

Seven lamps as in a zodiack repreſenting
The heavenly fires; over the tent a cloud
Shall reſt by day, a fiery gleam by night;
Save when they journey, and at length they come,

Ver. 255. *Seven lamps as in a zodiack repreſenting*
The heavenly fires;] That the ſeven lamps ſignified the ſeven planets, and that therefore the lamps ſtood ſlope-wiſe, as it were to expreſs the obliquity of the zodiack, is the gloſs of Joſephus, from whom probably Milton borrowed it. Joſeph. *Antiq.* lib. iii. cap. 6, and 7, and *De Bel. Jud.* lib. v. cap. 5. See likewiſe Mede's *Diſcourſe* x, upon the ſeven Arch-Angels. Mr. Hume quotes likewiſe the Latin of Philo to the ſame purpoſe. See Cornelius à Lapide upon *Exod.* xxv. 31. NEWTON.

See alſo the learned Parkhurſt, in his excellent *Hebrew and Engliſh Lexicon*, 4°. edit. 1692, p. 873. TODD.

Ver. 258. *Save when they journey,*] *Exod.* xl. 34, &c. "Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moſes was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation becauſe the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up, from over the tabernacle, the children of Iſrael went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not, till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the ſight of all the houſe of Iſrael, throughout all their journeys." Thus it was in all places wherever they came: and this is what Milton ſays in ſhort, the cloud was over the tent by day, and the fire (call'd here *a fiery gleam)* by night, when they journey'd not. He takes no notice how it was when they did; which this text (for the infinite beauty of which we have given it at length) explains: The cloud was then taken up; How, then? "*The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, to go by day and night,*" chap. xiii. 21. Other armies pitch their enſigns when they encamp, and lift them up when they march. So does the Lord of

Conducted by his Angel, to the land
Promis'd to Abraham and his ſeed:—The reſt
Were long to tell; how many battles fought;
How many kings deſtroy'd; and kingdoms won;
Or how the ſun ſhall in mid Heaven ſtand ſtill
A day entire, and night's due courſe adjourn,
Man's voice commanding, "Sun, in Gibeon ſtand,
"And thou moon in the vale of Aialon,
"Till Iſrael overcome!" ſo call the third
From Abraham, ſon of Iſaac; and from him
His whole deſcent, who thus ſhall Canaan win.

Here Adam interpos'd. O ſent from Heaven,
Enlightener of my darkneſs, gracious things
Thou haſt reveal'd; thoſe chiefly, which concern
Juſt Abraham and his ſeed: now firſt I find
Mine eyes true-opening, and my heart much eas'd;
Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts, what would become
Of me and all mankind: But now I ſee
His day, in whom all nations ſhall be bleſt;

Hoſts leading forth his people. But, what enſigns! how ſublime! Milton ſeems too conciſe here. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 270. *Here Adam interpos'd.*] Theſe interpoſitions of Adam have a very good effect; for otherwiſe the continued narration of the Angel would appear too long and tedious. NEWTON.

Ver. 274. *Mine eyes true-opening,*] Relating to that falſe promiſe, made to Adam by the lying ſerpent, "*Your eyes ſhall be opened,*" Gen. iii. 5. HUME.

Ver. 277. *His day,*] An alluſion to *John* viii. 56. "Your father Abraham rejoiced to *ſee my day*; and he ſaw it, and was glad." NEWTON.

Favour unmerited by me, who ſought
Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
This yet I apprehend not, why to thoſe
Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth
So many and ſo various laws are given;
So many laws argue ſo many ſins
Among them; how can God with ſuch reſide?
To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that ſin
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;
And therefore was law given them, to evince
Their natural pravity, by ſtirring up
Sin againſt law to fight: that when they ſee
Law can diſcover ſin, but not remove,
Save by thoſe ſhadowy expiations weak,

Ver. 283. *So many laws argue ſo many ſins*] The ſcruple of our firſt Father, and the reply of the Angel, are grounded upon St. Paul's Epiſtles, and particularly thoſe to the *Epheſians*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews*, as the reader, who is at all converſant with theſe ſacred writings, will eaſily perceive. Compare the following texts with the poet; *Gal.* iii. 19. *Rom.* vii. 7, 8. *Rom.* iii. 20. *Heb.* ix. 13, 14. *Heb.* x. 4, 5. *Rom.* iv. 22, 23, 24. *Rom.* v. 1. *Heb.* vii. 18, 19. *Heb.* x. 1. *Gal.* iii. 11, 12, 23. *Gal.* iv. 7. *Rom.* viii. 15. Milton has here, in a few verſes, admirably ſummed up the ſenſe and argument of theſe and more texts of Scripture. It is really wonderful how he could compriſe ſo much divinity in ſo few words, and at the ſame time expreſs it with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity. NEWTON.

The ſentiment, *ſo many laws argue ſo many ſins*, Mr. Bowle obſerves, is alſo Mariana's: "Legum multitudinem tempus et malitia invexit tantam, ut jam non minùs legibus quàm vitiis laboremus," *De Rege.* lib. i. cap. ii. Peck has noticed the ſame remark in Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. viii. "Corruptiſſimæ reipublicæ plurimæ leges." *Mem. of Milton*, p. 198. TODD.

The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
Some blood more precious muſt be paid for Man;
Juſt for unjuſt; that, in ſuch righteouſneſs
To them by faith imputed, they may find
Juſtification towards God, and peace
Of conſcience; which the law by ceremonies
Cannot appeaſe; nor Man the mortal part
Perform; and, not performing, cannot live.
So law appears imperfect; and but given
With purpoſe to reſign them, in full time,
Up to a better covenant; diſciplin'd
From ſhadowy types to truth; from fleſh to ſpirit;
From impoſition of ſtrict laws to free
Acceptance of large grace; from ſervile fear
To filial; works of law to works of faith.
And therefore ſhall not Moſes, though of God
Highly belov'd, being but the miniſter
Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
But Joſhua, whom the Gentiles Jeſus call,
His name and office bearing, who ſhall quell

Ver. 307. *And therefore ſhall not Moſes*, &c.] Moſes died in mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, from whence he had the proſpect of the Promiſed Land, but not the honour of leading the Iſraelites to poſſeſs it; which was reſerved for Joſhua, *Deut.* xxxiv. *Joſh.* i. HUME.

Ver. 311. *His name and office bearing*,] Joſhua was in many things a type of Jeſus; and the names are the ſame, *Joſhua* according to the Hebrew, and *Jeſus* in Greek. The Seventy always render *Joſhua* by *Jeſus;* and there are two paſſages in the New Teſtament, where *Jeſus* is uſed for *Joſhua*, once by St. Stephen,

The adverſary-Serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderneſs long-wander'd Man
Safe to eternal Paradiſe of reſt.
Mean while they, in their earthly Canaan plac'd,
Long time ſhall dwell and proſper, but when ſins
National interrupt their publick peace,
Provoking God to raiſe them enemies;
From whom as oft he ſaves them penitent
By Judges firſt, then under Kings; of whom
The ſecond, both for piety renown'd
And puiſſant deeds, a promiſe ſhall receive
Irrevocable, that his regal throne
For ever ſhall endure; the like ſhall ſing
All Prophecy, that of the royal ſtock
Of David (ſo I name this king) ſhall riſe
A Son, the Woman's ſeed to thee foretold,
Foretold to Abraham, as in whom ſhall truſt
All nations; and to kings foretold, of kings
The laſt; for of his reign ſhall be no end.
But firſt, a long ſucceſſion muſt enſue;
And his next ſon, for wealth and wiſdom fam'd,
The clouded ark of God, till then in tents

Acts vii. 45, and again by St. Paul, *Heb.* iv. 8. And the name Joſhua or Jeſus, ſignifies a Saviour. NEWTON.

Ver. 322. ——— *a promiſe ſhall receive* &c.] The poet, as Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have obſerved, has digeſted into this and the eight following lines, the ſubſtance of theſe texts of Scripture, II *Sam.* vii. 16. *Pſalm* lxxxix. 34, 35, 36. *Gen.* iii. 15. *Gen.* xxii. 18. *Iſaiah* xi. 10. *Luke* i. 32, 33. TODD.

Wandering, ſhall in a glorious temple enſhrine.
Such follow him, as ſhall be regiſter'd
Part good, part bad; of bad the longer ſcroll;
Whoſe foul idolatries, and other faults
Heap'd to the popular ſum, will ſo incenſe
God, as to leave them, and expoſe their land,
Their city, his temple, and his holy ark,
With all his ſacred things, a ſcorn and prey
To that proud city, whoſe high walls thou ſaw'ſt
Left in confuſion; Babylon thence call'd.
There in captivity he lets them dwell
The ſpace of ſeventy years; then brings them back,
Remembering mercy, and his covenant ſworn

Ver. 342. ——————— *whoſe high walls thou ſaw'ſt* &c.] I know not whether the poet has not here forgotten himſelf a little; for it is not ſtrictly true, that Adam *ſaw* the walls left in confuſion; it was no part of Adam's viſion; it is only a part of the Angel's narration in this book. I was thinking then, that perhaps Adam might ſee places, though he could not ſee perſons; as he ſees the Nile, ver. 158, and Mount Hermon and the Mediterranean, ver. 142, though he could not ſee Abraham, ver. 128: but the Mediterranean, and Hermon, and the Nile, ſeas, and mountains, and rivers, are ſuch places as exiſted at that very time, whereas the walls of Babel or Babylon were not built till ſeveral years afterwards, and Adam ſeems now to have loſt his proſpect of things future; as the Angel ſays, *I perceive thy mortal ſight to fail*, ver. 9. We muſt not therefore underſtand the expreſſion literally; for verbs of *ſeeing* are often extended beyond the bare act, and are applied to other ſenſes and other faculties of the mind. NEWTON.

Ver. 346. ——————— *his covenant ſworn*
To David, ſtabliſh'd as the days of Heaven.] See *Jeremiah*, xxxiii. 20, and *Pſalm* lxxxix. 29. TODD.

To David, ſtabliſh'd as the days of Heaven.
Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
Their lords, whom God diſpos'd, the houſe of God
They firſt re-edify; and for a while
In mean eſtate live moderate; till, grown
In wealth and multitude, factious they grow;
But firſt among the prieſts diſſention ſprings,
Men who attend the altar, and ſhould moſt
Endeavour peace: their ſtrife pollution brings
Upon the temple itſelf: at laſt they ſeiſe
The ſcepter, and regard not David's ſons;
Then loſe it to a ſtranger, that the true
Anointed King Meſſiah might be born
Barr'd of his right; yet at his birth a ſtar,
Unſeen before in Heaven, proclaims him come;
And guides the eaſtern ſages, who inquire

Ver. 349. ——————— *the houſe of God*
They firſt re-edify;] As it is related in the firſt book of *Eſdras.* TODD.

Ver. 355. ——————— *their ſtrife pollution brings*
Upon the temple itſelf: &c.] For it was chiefly through the conteſts between Jaſon and Menelaus, high-prieſts of the Jews, that the temple was polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes. See 11 *Maccab.* v. and Prideaux. *At laſt they ſeiſe the ſcepter,* Ariſtobulus, eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, high-prieſt of the Jews, was the firſt who aſſumed the title of king after the Babyloniſh captivity; before Chriſt 107. *And regard not David's ſons,* none of that family having had the government ſince Zerubbabel. *Then loſe it to a ſtranger,* to Herod, who was an Idumean, in whoſe reign Chriſt was born. See Joſephus, and Prideaux. NEWTON.

His place, to offer incenſe, myrrh, and gold:
His place of birth a ſolemn Angel tells
To ſimple ſhepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haſte, and by a quire
Of ſquadron'd Angels hear his carol ſung.
A virgin is his mother, but his ſire
The power of the Moſt High: He ſhall aſcend
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens.

Ver. 364. ——— *a* ſolemn *Angel*] Sent in ſolemnity, as an ambaſſadour extraordinary. This ſingle word *ſolemn* expreſſes the importance of the meſſage. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 366. ——— *a quire*
Of ſquadron'd *Angels*] See the note on Milton's Od. Nat. ver. 21. He here adopts the Italian participle *ſquadronato*. TODD.

Ver. 367. ——— *hear his carol ſung.*] Our author here goes counter to Scripture, by poſtponing the ſhepherds' hearing the angelick hymn ſung by the heavenly hoſt to their arrival at Bethlehem. Poſſibly he had in his mind ſome painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds, with a choir of the heavenly hoſt ſeen at the top of the picture in the ethereal regions. Or, as the ſtar, which appeared to the wiſe men of the eaſt, "went before them," or rather had gone before them, "and ſtood over the place where the young child was;" ſo he has ventured boldly to deſcribe the heavenly hoſt doing the ſame. The idea is too bold to be juſtified, when the language of Scripture is ſo preciſely clear; otherwiſe the effect would be in a high degree poetical. DUNSTER.

Ver. 370. ——— *and* bound *his reign*
With Earth's wide bounds, *his glory with the Heavens.*] Mr. Hume and Dr. Newton have

He ceas'd, diſcerning Adam with ſuch joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words; which theſe he breath'd.
O prophet of glad tidings, finiſher
Of utmoſt hope! now clear I underſtand
What oft my ſteadieſt thoughts have ſearch'd in vain;
Why our great Expectation ſhould be call'd
The ſeed of Woman: Virgin Mother, hail,
High in the love of Heaven; yet from my loins
Thou ſhalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
Of God Moſt High: ſo God with Man unites!
Needs muſt the Serpent now his capital bruiſe
Expect with mortal pain: Say where and when
Their fight, what ſtroke ſhall bruiſe the victor's heel.
To whom thus Michael. Dream not of their fight,

here cited from Virgil, *Æn.* i. 287,

"Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet aſtris."

But, as Mr. Upton obſerves, the prophets ought rather to be cited. *Pſalm*, ii. 8. *Iſaiah*, ix. 7. *Zechariah*, ix. 9. Yet, in the turn of the words, there is a ſimilarity to a paſſage in the old *Tragedie of Dido*, 1594.

"No *bounds* but heauen ſhall *bound* his emperie." TODD.

Ver. 379. ——— *Virgin Mother, hail,*
High in the love of Heaven;] "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" *Luke* i. 28. GILLIES.

As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: Not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to Godhead, with more ſtrength to foil
Thy enemy; nor ſo is overcome
Satan, whoſe fall from Heaven, a deadlier bruiſe,
Diſabled, not to give thee thy death's wound:
Which he, who comes thy Saviour, ſhall recure,
Not by deſtroying Satan, but his works
In thee, and in thy ſeed: Nor can this be,
But by fulfilling that which thou didſt want,
Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
On penalty of death, and ſuffering death;
The penalty to thy tranſgreſſion due,
And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
So only can high Juſtice reſt appaid.

Ver. 387. *As of a* duel,] See the notes on *Par. Reg.* B. i. 174. TODD.

Ver. 393. —— *he, who comes* &c.] Ὁ ἐρχομενος, *Matt.* xi. 3, *Luke* vii. 19. We may alſo refer to *Iſaiah* xxxv. 4. DUNSTER.

Ver. 393. ———————— recure,] *Heal, recover;* a word of frequent occurrence in Spenſer; now, ſays Dr. Johnſon, obſolete. We had formerly alſo the adjective *recureleſs*, i. e. *irremediable*. See Sherwood's Dict. ſubjoined to Cotgrave's, in V. *recure*. TODD.

Ver. 394. ———— *but his works*] See 1 *John*, iii. 8. NEWTON.

Ver. 400. *And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:*] Puniſhment is due to men's actual tranſgreſſions, though the original depravity, the tranſgreſſion of Adam, was the root of them. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 401. ———— *reſt* appaid.] Reſt *ſatisfied:* The

The law of God exact he ſhall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law; thy puniſhment
He ſhall endure, by coming in the fleſh
To a reproachful life, and curſed death;
Proclaiming life to all who ſhall believe
In his redemption; and that his obedience,
Imputed, becomes theirs by faith; his merits

language of Chaucer and Spenſer. Thus *ill appaid* means *diſſatisfied*. See Gloſſary to Urry's Chaucer. TODD.

Ver. 403. ——————— *though love*
Alone fulfil the law;] Rom. xiii. 10. "Love is the fulfilling of the law." HUME.

Ver. 409. ——————— *his* merits
To *ſave them*, &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays, that the conſtruction demands "*Do* ſave them," and ſo he ſuppoſes that Milton gave it. But I cannot ſee with what propriety, when Milton is ſpeaking of things to come, and uſing the future tenſe before and after this ſentence, he can here jump at once into the preſent tenſe *do*, and repreſent Chriſt's merits as then actually *ſaving them*. And yet, though I diſlike the doctor's alteration, I confeſs that there is a difficulty in the common reading. The only ſenſe that I can make of it, is this: "Which *redemption* and *obedience* are *his merits to* ſave them, and not their own works, though legal ones and ſtrictly conformable to the law." PEARCE.

I rather underſtand the paſſage thus, apprehending that the verb *believe* governs the reſt of the ſentence: "*Proclaiming life to all who ſhall believe in his redemption; and* ſhall believe *that his obedience, imputed, becomes theirs by faith; and* ſhall believe *his merits to ſave them, not their own, though legal, works.*" NEWTON.

An ingenious writer, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 48, p. 466, propoſes to read *merits* with an eliſion, that is, "His *merit's* to ſave them," or, "His *merit is* to ſave them;" *is to* for *muſt* or

To ſave them, not their own, though legal, works.
For this he ſhall live hated, be blaſphem'd,
Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd
A ſhameful and accurs'd, nail'd to the croſs
By his own nation; ſlain for bringing life:
But to the croſs he nails thy enemies,

ſhall; not an unuſual way of ſpeaking, as, "His order *is to* warrant you; his ſervant *is to* attend us." If it ſhould be alleged, he continues, that *merit* is ſeldom, if ever, uſed in the ſingular number, when it relates to Chriſt; a poet and a layman may vary from a practice, however generally obſerved by churchmen: and in fact he does ſo, B. iii. 290.

——————"Thy *merit*,
"Imputed, ſhall abſolve them."

And again, where he introduces Chriſt ſpeaking of himſelf, B. xi. 35.

——————"My *merit* thoſe
"Shall perfect."

The critick moreover quotes, from Shakſpeare's *Hen.* viii, a ſimilar eliſion at the end of a verſe;

———"I ſpeak ſincerely, and high *note's*
"Ta'en of your many virtues."

Thus defending his change, if it may be called a change, he obſerves how eaſy the ſentence appears, which was before ſo perplexed: "*Proclaiming life to all who ſhall believe that his obedience becomes theirs—that his* MERIT IS *to ſave them, not their own works.*" Mr. Dunſter thinks it is better to underſtand, with doctor Newton, all the latter part of the ſenſe governed by *believe*, and meaning that "as they believe his imputed obedience ſhall become in effect theirs; they ſhall alſo believe that his imputed merits *ſhall be able or efficacious*," (for a bold ellipſis muſt be ſuppoſed,) "to ſave them, &c." TODD.

Ver. 415. *But to the croſs he nails thy enemies,*] The enemies of Adam were the *law that was againſt him*, and the *ſins of all*

The law that is againſt thee, and the ſins
Of all mankind, with him there crucified,
Never to hurt them more who rightly truſt
In this his ſatisfaction; ſo he dies,
But ſoon revives; Death over him no power
Shall long uſurp; ere the third dawning light
Return, the ſtars of morn ſhall ſee him riſe
Out of his grave, freſh as the dawning light,
Thy ranſom paid, which Man from death redeems,

mankind as ſpringing originally from him, and therefore in ſome ſenſe chargeable upon him. The author, in this paſſage, alludes to *Col.* ii. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 420. ——— *Death over him no power*
Shall long uſurp;] From *Rom.* vi. 9. "Death hath no more dominion over him." GILLIES.

By the preceding expreſſion, *he dies, but ſoon revives*, it ſeems as if the following paſſage was alſo now in Milton's remembrance: "I am he that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore," *Rev.* i. 18. TODD.

Ver. 421. ——— *ere the third* dawning *light*] St. *Matt.* xxviii. 1. "As it *began to dawn* towards the firſt day of the week." GILLIES.

Ver. 424. Thy *ranſom paid*,] The two firſt editions have *Thy*, the later ones *The:* And Milton's word may be defended, if we ſuppoſe that Adam is here ſpoken of, not as a ſingle perſon, but as one in whoſe loins all mankind was contained, or as one who was repreſentative of the whole human ſpecies. And ſo the poet ſpeaks again, v. 247.

——— "this God-like act
"Annuls *thy* doom." PEARCE.

Compare 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. "Who gave himſelf a *ranſom for all*." Dr. Pearce's defence of Milton's word is ſupported by St. Paul's

His death for Man, as many as offer'd life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works: This God-like act
Annuls thy doom, the death thou ſhould'ſt have died,
In ſin for ever loſt from life; this act
Shall bruiſe the head of Satan, cruſh his ſtrength,
Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms;
And fix far deeper in his head their ſtings
Than temporal death ſhall bruiſe the victor's heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems; a death, like ſleep,
A gentle wafting to immortal life.

expreſſion "*for all;*" and it is evident that the poet had the paſſage in view. TODD.

Ver. 434. ——————— *a death, like ſleep,*] As a poetical expreſſion, not unlike that of Statius, *Sylv.* v. iii. 260. "Mors imitata quietem." But Fenton has printed *death-like*, as an adjective; and he has been followed in ſome later editions. Dr. Johnſon alſo, in his Dictionary, cites this paſſage in order to illuſtrate the adjective *deathlike*. But Milton's own editions give no countenance to this alteration; for in them *death* and *like* ſtand ſeparate: the poet intending *death*, I conceive, as a reference to *temporal death*, in v. 433; and calling it *a death, like ſleep*, in alluſion to St. Paul's ſublime aſſertion reſpecting the reſurrection of the dead, 1 *Cor.* xv. 51. "Οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, *we ſhall not ſleep.*" See alſo 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 13, 14, 15. Milton's compariſon then ſhould not have been deſtroyed: a compariſon, employed by the beſt Chriſtian writers to denote that, as *ſleep* implies that *we ſhall awake*, *death* implies that *we ſhall riſe again to life;* a compariſon, that ſerves to expoſe the fallacy of the gloomy poſition advanced in the days of heathen darkneſs, and impiouſly revived by the ſelf-ſufficient philoſophers of modern times,—that *Death is eternal ſleep!* TODD.

Nor after reſurrection ſhall he ſtay
Longer on earth, than certain times to appear
To his diſciples, men who in his life
Still follow'd him; to them ſhall leave in charge
To teach all nations what of him they learn'd
And his ſalvation; them who ſhall believe
Baptizing in the profluent ſtream, the ſign
Of waſhing them from guilt of ſin to life
Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if ſo befall,
For death, like that which the Redeemer died.
All nations they ſhall teach; for, from that day,
Not only to the ſons of Abraham's loins
Salvation ſhall be preach'd, but to the ſons
Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world;
So in his ſeed all nations ſhall be bleſt.
Then to the Heaven of Heavens he ſhall aſcend
With victory, triumphing through the air
Over his foes and thine; there ſhall ſurpriſe
The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;

Ver. 445. ——————— *which* the *Redeemer died.*] Dr. Bentley ſays (and it is not improbable) that the author gave it, ——————— "which *their* Redeemer died." NEWTON.

I can ſee no reaſon for this alteration: Surely Milton's own reading is very emphatical, "*The* Redeemer," Ὁ ῥυόμενος, *Iſaiah* lix. 20, and *Rom.* xi. 26. TODD.

Ver. 447. *Not only to the ſons of Abraham's loins*
Salvation ſhall be preach'd, but &c.] Compare *Gal.* iii. 7, and 16; and *Rom.* iv. 16. TODD.

Then enter into glory, and reſume
His ſeat at God's right hand, exalted high
Above all names in Heaven; and thence ſhall come,
When this world's diſſolution ſhall be ripe,
With glory and power to judge both quick and dead;
To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliſs,
Whether in Heaven or Earth; for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradiſe, far happier place
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.
So ſpake the Arch-Angel Michaël; then paus'd,
As at the world's great period; and our ſire,
Replete with joy and wonder, thus replied.

Ver. 456. *Then enter into glory,*] *Luke* xxiv. 26. "Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory?" GILLIES.

Ver. 457. ——————— *exalted high*
Above all names in Heaven;] *Eph.* i. 20, 21. "God hath ſet him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo that which is to come." HUME.

Ver. 459. *When* this *world's diſſolution ſhall be ripe,*] In the later editions we have "*the* world's:" But I prefer "*this,*" which is found in the two firſt; becauſe this reaſon admits the ictus on the ſecond ſyllable of the verſe (where it ought to be), whereas the other reading throws it upon the third. PEARCE.

Ver. 460. *With glory and power*] St. *Luke*, xxi. 27. "With power and great glory." GILLIES.

Ver. 461. *To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward*
His faithful, &c.] See *John* v. 28, 29, and *Rev.* xi. 18. TODD.

O Goodneſs infinite, Goodneſs immenſe!
That all this good of evil ſhall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation firſt brought forth
Light out of darkneſs! Full of doubt I ſtand,
Whether I ſhould repent me now of ſin
By me done, and occaſion'd; or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof ſhall ſpring;
To God more glory, more good-will to Men
From God, and over wrath grace ſhall abound.
But ſay, if our Deliverer up to Heaven
Muſt re-aſcend, what will betide the few
His faithful, left among the unfaithful herd,
The enemies of truth? Who then ſhall guide
His people, who defend? Will they not deal
Worſe with his followers than with him they dealt?
Be ſure they will, ſaid the Angel; but from Heaven

Ver. 475. ——————— *or rejoice*
Much more, that much more good thereof ſhall ſpring;]
He ſeems to have remembered that rant of one of the Fathers, "O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem! *O happy fault, which deſerved to have ſuch and ſo great a redeemer!*" As in what follows, *To God more glory*, &c. he alludes to the heavenly hymn, *Glory to God in the higheſt*, &c. NEWTON.

It is more probable, that Milton here alluded to 11 *Cor.* iv. 15. "For all things are for your ſakes, that the *abundant grace* might, through the thankſgiving of many, *redound to the glory of God.*" See alſo *Rom.* v. 20. TODD.

He to his own a Comforter will ſend,
The promiſe of the Father, who ſhall dwell
His Spirit within them; and the law of faith,
Working through love, upon their hearts ſhall write,
To guide them in all truth; and alſo arm
With ſpiritual armour, able to reſiſt
Satan's aſſaults, and quench his fiery darts;
What man can do againſt them, not afraid,
Though to the death; againſt ſuch cruelties

Ver. 487. *The promiſe of the Father,*] See *Luke* xxiv. 49. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——————— *who ſhall* dwell
His Spirit within them;] Shall *cauſe to* dwell. So, in Sophocles, as cited by Mr. Stillingfleet, *Oedip. Colon.* v. 93.

Ἐντᾶυθα κάμψειν τὸν ταλαίπωρον βίον,
Κέρδη μὲν ΟΙΚΗΣΟΝΤΑ τοῖς ὑποδεγμένοις, κ. τ. λ.

But Mr. Dunſter objects to this explanation, and contends that, while Milton's mind was here fully immerſed in Scripture, his language is that of his cuſtomary ſtructure; and that the meaning intended is, "The Godhead himſelf ſhall dwell in them *ſpiritually*, (as the fullneſs of it had been ſaid to dwell in the Son *bodily*, Col. ii. 9.) that is, God ſhall dwell in them in the *perſon* of his Holy Spirit; the poet's ſcriptural authority being that Promiſe of the Comforter in *St. John* xiv, where it is expreſsly ſaid that not only the Son (ver. 18.) but the Father alſo (ver. 23.) ſhall come unto them, and *make their abode with them*, in the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt." TODD.

Ver. 490. *To guide them in all truth; and alſo arm*
With ſpiritual armour, &c.] See *John* xvi. 13, and *Eph.* vi. 11, 13, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 493. *What man can do againſt them, not afraid,*
Though to the death;] The conſtruction, I ſuppoſe,

With inward conſolations recompens'd,
And oft ſupported ſo as ſhall amaze
Their proudeſt perſecutors: For the Spirit,
Pour'd firſt on his Apoſtles, whom he ſends
To evangelize the nations, then on all
Baptiz'd, ſhall them with wonderous gifts endue
To ſpeak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heaven: At length
Their miniſtry perform'd, and race well run,
Their doctrine and their ſtory written left,
They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
Wolves ſhall ſucceed for teachers, grievous wolves,
Who all the ſacred myſteries of Heaven
To their own vile advantages ſhall turn

is "Not afraid of what man can do againſt them though to the death," *though it be perſecution to death itſelf:* and it is an alluſion to *Pſalm* lvi. 11. "I will not be afraid what man can do unto me." NEWTON.

Ver. 498. *Pour'd firſt on his Apoſtles*, &c.] See *Acts* ii. 4, and *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. HUME.

Ver. 507. ——— *but in their room, as they forewarn,*
Wolves ſhall ſucceed &c.] So St. Paul had forewarned the elders of the church at Miletus, to which Milton here alludes, *Acts* xx. 29; as alſo in his *Conſiderations touching the likelieſt means to remove hirelings out of the Chriſtian church:* "Not long after, as the Apoſtle foretold, *hirelings like wolves* came in by herds, &c." NEWTON.

See alſo note on *Lycidas*, v. 114. TODD.

Of lucre and ambition; and the truth
With ſuperſtitions and traditions taint,
Left only in thoſe written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit underſtood.
Then ſhall they ſeek to avail themſelves of names,
Places, and titles, and with theſe to join
Secular power; though feigning ſtill to act

Ver. 511. *Of* lucre *and* ambition;] With the ſame alluſion, as in his *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. p. 164, edit. 1698. "They have fed his ſheep, contrary to *that which St. Peter* writes, not of a ready mind, but for filthy *lucre;* not as examples to the flock, but as being *lords over God's heritage.*" TODD.

Ver. 514. *Though not but by the Spirit underſtood.*] I don't think Milton, in all his writings, ever gave a ſtronger proof of his enthuſiaſtical ſpirit than in this line. WARBURTON.

I ſuppoſe he alluded to 1 *Cor.* ii. 14. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned:" underſtanding it as ſome enthuſiaſtick ſectariſts have underſtood it. NEWTON.

Ver. 516. ———— *and with theſe to join*
Secular power; &c.] On this ſubject he had been particularly copious in his tract of *Reformation in England*, Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 264, edit. 1698. "If the life of Chriſt be hid to this world, much more is his ſcepter unoperative, but in ſpiritual things. And thus lived for two or three ages the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles. But when through Conſtantine's laviſh ſuperfitition they forſook their firſt love, and *ſet themſelves up too in God's ſtead;* Mammon, and their belly, then taking advantage of *the ſpiritual power which they had on men's conſciences*, they began to caſt a longing eye to get the body alſo, and bodily things, into their command; upon which their carnal deſires, the Spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themſelves up from falling to nothing, but by bolſtering and ſupporting their inward rottenneſs, *by a carnal and outward ſtrength.*" TODD.

By ſpiritual, to themſelves appropriating
The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and given
To all believers; and, from that pretence,
Spiritual laws by carnal power ſhall force
On every conſcience; laws which none ſhall find
Left them inroll'd, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
But force the Spirit of Grace itſelf, and bind
His conſort Liberty? what, but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to ſtand,
Their own faith, not another's? for, on earth,
Who againſt faith and conſcience can be heard
Infallible? yet many will preſume:
Whence heavy perſecution ſhall ariſe
On all, who in the worſhip perſevere

Ver. 522. ——————— *laws which none ſhall find* &c.] Laws, as Hume and doctor Newton obſerve, neither agreeable to revealed or natural religion; neither to be found in Holy Scripture, or written on their hearts by the Spirit of God; laws contrary to his promiſe, who has ſaid, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and *write it in their hearts*," Jer. xxxi. 33. TODD.

Ver. 526. *His conſort Liberty?*] "For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," II *Cor.* iii. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 527. His living temples,] Chriſtians are called the "*temples of God*," I Cor. iii. 16, 17, and vi. 19. NEWTON.

See alſo Milton's *Proſe-Works*, vol. i. p. 231, ed. 1698. "As if the touch of a lay Chriſtian, who is nevertheleſs GOD'S *living temple*, could profane dead Judaiſms." TODD.

Ver. 532. *On all, who in the worſhip perſevere* &c.] He alludes to *John* iv. 23. NEWTON.

Of ſpirit and truth; the reſt, far greater part,
Will deem in outward rites and ſpecious forms
Religion ſatisfied; Truth ſhall retire
Beſtuck with ſlanderous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found: So ſhall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign;
Under her own weight groaning; till the day
Appear of reſpiration to the juſt,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him ſo lately promiſed to thy aid,
The Woman's Seed; obſcurely then foretold,
Now ampler known thy Saviour and thy Lord;
Laſt, in the clouds, from Heaven to be reveal'd

Ver. 534. Will *deem*] This is the genuine reading of the firſt edition; in the ſecond edition it was printed by miſtake "*Well* deem;" but, abſurd as this reading is, it has been followed in all the editions which I have ſeen, till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's. NEWTON.

I muſt again reſcue Tickell from doctor Newton's cenſure; for in his edition, which was publiſhed five years before Fenton's, the reading is "*Will* deem." TODD.

Ver. 539. *Under her own weight groaning*;] "The whole creation groaneth," *Rom.* viii. 22. GILLIES.

Ver. 540. ——— *the day of reſpiration*] This is what the Scripture calls "the times of refreſhing," *Acts* iii. 19. NEWTON.

But we ſhould alſo obſerve, that the original word ἀναψυξις ſignifies *reſpiratio*; and, though more commonly in the Latin verſions of the New Teſtament it is rendered *refrigerium*, it is uſed exactly in that ſenſe in the Septuagint, *Exod.* viii. 15. And in the Latin Bible of Junius and Tremellius it is given *reſpiratio*.
DUNSTER.

Ver. 545. *Laſt, in the clouds, from Heaven to be reveal'd*
In glory of the Father,] "Coming in the clouds

In glory of the Father, to diſſolve
Satan with his perverted world; then raiſe
From the conflagrant maſs, purg'd and refin'd,
New Heavens, new Earth, ages of endleſs date,

of Heaven," *Matt.* xxvi. 64. "The Son of Man ſhall come in the glory of his Father," *Matt.* xvi. 27. GILLIES.

Ver. 546. ——————— *to* diſſolve
Satan with his perverted world:] An expreſſion of the ſame import as when the light is ſaid to *diſſolve* the darkneſs, Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 591.

"Extulit os ſacrum cœlo, tenebráſque *reſolvit.*"

Milton probably borrowed the phraſe from Scripture, II *Pet.* iii. 12, 12. "Seeing then that all theſe things ſhall be *diſſolved*, &c. The Heavens, being on fire, ſhall be *diſſolved.*" And he had mentioned before "this world's *diſſolution*," ver. 459. NEWTON.

In the ſame figurative ſenſe, as Mr. Richardſon obſerves, the word is uſed in Appollonius Rhodius, where morning *diſſolves* the night throughout the ether, *Argon.* iv. 1170.

Ἠὼς δ' ἀμβροσίῃσιν ἀνερχομένη φαέεσσι
ΛΥΕ κελαινὴν νύκτα δι' ἠέρος.

Λύειν alſo plainly ſignifies *to deſtroy*, in *John* ii. 19. "*Deſtroy* this temple, and in three days I will raiſe it up." TODD.

Ver. 549. *New Heavens, new Earth,*] The very words of St. Peter, II *Pet.* iii. 13. "Nevertheleſs, we according to his promiſe, look for *new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs.*" This notion of the Heavens and Earth being renewed after the conflagration, and made the habitation of Angels and juſt Men made perfect, was very pleaſing to Milton; as it was to Dr. Burnet, and muſt be to every one of a fine and exalted imagination: And Milton has enlarged upon it in ſeveral parts of his works, and particularly in this poem, B. iii. 333, &c. B. x. 638, B. xi. 65, 900, B. xii. 462. NEWTON.

Compare, with this poetick paſſage, Milton's animated deſcription in proſe of Chriſt's "univerſal and mild *Monarchy through Heaven and Earth.* Where they undoubtedly, that by

Founded in righteouſneſs, and peace, and love;
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliſs.
He ended; and thus Adam laſt replied.
How ſoon hath thy prediction, Seer bleſt,
Meaſur'd this tranſient world, the race of time,
Till time ſtand fix'd! Beyond is all abyſs,
Eternity, whoſe end no eye can reach.
Greatly inſtructed I ſhall hence depart;
Greatly in peace of thought; and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this veſſel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aſpire.
Henceforth I learn, that to obey is beſt,
And love with fear the only God; to walk
As in his preſence; ever to obſerve
His providence; and on him ſole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by ſmall
Accompliſhing great things, by things deem'd weak
Subverting worldly ſtrong, and worldly wiſe

their labours, counſels, and prayers, have been earneſt for the common good of religion and their country, ſhall receive, above the inferiour Orders of the Bleſſed, the regal addition of Principalities, Legions, and Thrones, into their glorious titles; and, in ſupereminence of beatifick Viſion, *progreſſing the dateleſs and irrevoluble circle of Eternity, ſhall claſp inſeparable hands with joy and bliſs,* in over-meaſure for ever." See the end of his *Reformation in England.* TODD.

Ver. 565. ——————— *with good*
Still overcoming evil;] "Overcome evil with good," *Rom.* xii. 21. GILLIES.

Ver. 568. *Subverting worldly ſtrong,* &c] "God hath

By ſimply meek: that ſuffering for truth's ſake
Is fortitude to higheſt victory,
And, to the faithful, death the gate of life;
Taught this by his example, whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever bleſt.
To whom thus alſo the Angel laſt replied.
This having learn'd, thou haſt attain'd the ſum
Of wiſdom; hope no higher, though all the ſtars
Thou knew'ſt by name, and all the ethereal powers,
All ſecrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
Or works of God in Heaven, air, earth, or ſea,
And all the riches of this world enjoy'dſt,
And all the rule, one empire; only add

choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty," 1 *Cor.* i. 27. And ſo in the reſt there is the ſenſe of Scripture, if not the very words. As to *obey is beſt*, " Behold to obey is better than ſacrifice," 1 *Sam.* xv. 22. And *on him ſole depend*, " Caſting all your care upon him, for he careth for you," 1 *Pet.* v. 7. And *merciful over all his works*, " His mercies are over all his works," *Pſalm* cxlv. 9. NEWTON.

Ver. 576. ——— *though all the ſtars*
Thou knew'ſt by name, &c.] The turn of the ſentence reſembles, as Mr. Stillingfleet obſerves, what St. Paul ſays, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 2. " And *though I have the gift of prophecy, and underſtand all myſteries and all knowledge*,—and have not charity, I am nothing." TODD.

Ver. 581. ——— *only add*
Deeds to thy knowledge &c.] 11 *Pet.* i. 5, 6, 7. HUME.

Deeds to thy knowledge anſwerable; add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
By name to come call'd charity, the ſoul
Of all the reſt: then wilt thou not be loth
To leave this Paradiſe, but ſhalt poſſeſs
A Paradiſe within thee, happier far.—
Let us deſcend now therefore from this top
Of ſpeculation; for the hour preciſe

Ver. 584. ——————— *charity, the ſoul*
Of all the reſt:] As in our excellent Liturgy, "the very bond of peace, and *of all virtues*." TODD.

Ver. 587. *A Paradiſe within thee,*] This, Sir John Harrington ſtyles "the comfortable peace of *conſcience*, the only true *Paradiſe* of this world." Notes on his tranſlation of Orlando Furioſo, p. 288. BOWLE.

The motto of Arminius is ſaid to have been, "Bona conſcientia Paradiſus." But here we muſt notice the obſervation of Milton's friend, Henry More, who, in his *Expoſition of the Seven Churches*, ſays, "Nor is it all harſh to interpret a vineyard to ſo ſpiritual a ſenſe as to make it ſomething *within us*, whenas both Philo and other ancient interpreters *have interpreted Paradiſe to that ſenſe*." Ch. 6. ſect. 11. TODD.

Ver. 588. ——————— *from this* top
Of ſpeculation;] From this hill of prophecy and prediction. *Speculation*, a watching on a tower or high place; thence a diſcovery, and therefore applied to the prophets in the ſacred page, who are called *ſeers* and *watchmen*, ſpeculators of *ſpecula* Latin, a *watch-tower*. See *Ezekiel* iii. 17, and alſo chap. xxxiii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. HUME.

So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 236, as Mr. Richardſon has obſerved, "This *ſpecular* mount." But ſee alſo the dedication of Codrington's *Marrow of Hiſtory*, 4to. 1653. "Here, as from a *turret* of *ſpeculation*, you may look down upon the vulgar, &c." TODD.

Exacts our parting hence; and see! the guards,
By me encamp'd on yonder hill, expect
Their motion; at whose front a flaming sword,
In signal of remove, waves fiercely round:
We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve;
Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
To meek submission: thou, at season fit,
Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard;
Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,
The great deliverance by her seed to come
(For by the Woman's seed) on all mankind:
That ye may live, which will be many days,
Both in one faith unanimous, though sad,
With cause, for evils past; yet much more cheer'd
With meditation on the happy end.

He ended, and they both descend the hill;
Descended, Adam to the bower, where Eve
Lay sleeping, ran before; but found her wak'd;
And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.

Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;

Ver. 608. ——————— *but found her wak'd;*] There is some inconsistence between this and what is said in the argument to this book, which was written afterwards. There it is said that Adam *wakens Eve*, but here that he *found her wak'd*. NEWTON.

Ver. 610. *Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;*] Here, as Mr. Dunster also notices, might be some recollection of Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, where Joseph wakes from the dream in which he is warned to take the young Child and his Mother, and flee into Egypt:

For God is alſo in ſleep; and dreams adviſe,
Which he hath ſent propitious, ſome great good
Preſaging, ſince with ſorrow and heart's diſtreſs
Wearied I fell aſleep: But now lead on;
In me is no delay; with thee to go,
Is to ſtay here; without thee here to ſtay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under Heaven, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art baniſh'd hence.
This further conſolation yet ſecure
I carry hence; though all by me is loſt,
Such favour I unworthy am vouchſaf'd,
By me the Promis'd Seed ſhall all reſtore.
So ſpake our mother Eve; and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but anſwer'd not: For now, too nigh
The Arch-Angel ſtood; and, from the other hill

" Deſtaſi, e ſbigottito, e ſtupefatto,
" Parla à la Virgin ſua ſpoſa e compagna,
" *Che informata dal Ciel di tutto il fatto,*
" Non ſi turba, non teme, e non ſi lagna." TODD.

Ver. 611. *For God is alſo in ſleep;*] *Numb.* xii. 6. " If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a *viſion*, and I will ſpeak unto him *in a dream*." And thus Homer, *Il.* i. 63. Καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν. And the application is very elegant in this place, as Adam's was a *viſion*, and Eve's a *dream;* and God was in the one, as well as in the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 615. *In me is no delay;*] Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 52. " In me mora non erit ulla." NEWTON.

Ver. 625. ——————— *for now, too nigh*
The Arch-Angel ſtood;] Milton obſerves the τὸ

To their fix'd ſtation, all in bright array
The Cherubim deſcended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening-miſt
Risen from a river o'er the mariſh glides,
And gathers ground faſt at the labourer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd,
The brandiſh'd ſword of God before them blaz'd,
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the Libyan air aduſt,
Began to parch that temperate clime; whereat

πρέπον, the *decorum*, to the laſt degree; making our firſt parents ſuch perfect patterns of modeſty, as to forbear their endearments, though but in words, at the Angel's approach. HUME.

Ver. 629. *Gliding meteorous,*] Pope employs the very ſame words, in deſcribing the motion of Iris, *Iliad* xxiv. 99, &c. Of the motion, aſcribed to the deities, ſee the notes on B. vi. 71, and B. viii. 302. See alſo Mathewe Groue's *Epigrams and Sonets*, 12mo. Lond. 1587, bl. l.

" Grant this, ye Gods that *glide* on ſtarrie ſkie,
" And guide that Chaos ball &c." TODD.

Ver. 630. ——————— *mariſh*] An old word for *marſh*; uſed in 1 *Maccab.* ix. 42. " The *mariſh* of Jordan," and again, in v. 45, as Dr. Newton has obſerved. It appears to have been often employed by Harington and Fairfax in their tranſlations of Arioſto and Taſſo, as alſo by Spenſer, and Drayton, and Browne. TODD.

Ver. 634. *Fierce as a* comet; *which with torrid heat,*
And vapour as the Libyan air aduſt,
Began to parch that temperate clime;] Compare Taſſo, as Mr. Bowle alſo notes, *Gier. Lib.* C. vii. ſt. 52.

" Qual con le chiome ſanguinoſe horrende
" Splender *cometa* ſuol per *l'aria aduſta.*"

But, for the compariſon of the *ſword of God* to a *comet*, Mr.

In either hand the haſtening Angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eaſtern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as faſt
To the ſubjected plain; then diſappear'd.
They, looking back, all the eaſtern ſide beheld
Of Paradiſe, ſo late their happy ſeat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand; the gate

Dunſter rightly refers to Du Bartas's deſcription of the flaming ſword, placed at the entrance of the garden of Eden, after the expulſion of our firſt parents. See Sylveſter, edit. 1621, p. 199.

" For the Almighty ſet before the door
" Of th' holy park a Seraphim that bore
" A *waving ſword*, whoſe body ſhined bright
" *Like flaming comet* in the midſt of night." TODD.

Ver. 635. *And* vapour] Horace, *Epod.* iii. 15.

" Nec tantus unquam ſiderum inſedit *vapor*
" Siticuloſæ Apuliæ." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 640. *To the* ſubjected *plain;*] The plain *below*. This meaning of *ſubjected* may be illuſtrated by Shakſpeare, *Troil. and Creſſid.* A. i. S. ii.

——————" the eaſtern tower,
" Whoſe height commands as *ſubject* all the *vale*."

And by Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 19.

" Long he them bore above the *ſubject plaine*." TODD.

Ver. 643. Wav'd *over by that flaming* brand;] *Brand* here ſignifies a *ſword;* as in Spenſer, *Faer. Qu.* i. iii. 3, v. i. 9, and ix. 30. Fairfax uſes the word in his tranſlation of Taſſo, C. vii. ſt. 72, and in ſeveral other places. In Italian too, *brando* ſignifies a *ſword*. NEWTON.

Of *brand* for *ſword* take the following explication from Hickes. " In the ſecond part of the *Edda Iſlandica*, among other appellations, a *ſword* is denominated *brand;* and *glad* or *glod*, that is,

With dreadful faces throng'd, and fiery arms:
Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them
soon;
The world was all before them, where to chooſe
Their place of reſt, and Providence their guide:
They, hand in hand, with wandering ſteps and
slow,
Through Eden took their ſolitary way.

titio, torris, pruna ignita; and the hall of Odin is ſaid to be illuminated by drawn ſwords only. A writer of no leſs learning than penetration, N. Salanus Weſtmannus, in his Diſſertation, entitled *Gladius Scythicus*, pag. 6, 7, obſerves, that the ancients formed their ſwords in imitation of a flaming fire; and thus, from *brand* a *ſword*, came our Engliſh phraſe, to BRANDISH *a ſword*, gladium ſtrictum vibrando corufcare facere."

T. WARTON.

Sylveſter's expreſſion in the note on ver. 634, may be compared; as may Drummond's, in his Hymn on the Faireſt Fair:

" Near to thy other ſide reſiſtleſs Might,
" From head to foot in burniſh'd armour dight
" That rings about him, with a *waving brand*,
" And watchful eye, great centinel doth ſtand." TODD.

Ver. 646. *The world was all before them,*] Shakſpeare, *Rich.* II. A. i. S. iii.

———" all the world's my way." JOHNSON.

Ver. 648. *They, hand in hand, with wandering ſteps and ſlow,*] The melancholy turn of this line is very obſervable; and bears ſome ſimiliarity to a very plaintive paſſage in Petrarch, *Son.* xxxviii. parte ſeconda:

" Ond' io ſon fatto un animal ſilveſtro
" Che *co' pie vaghi, ſolitari, e laſſi*,
" Porto 'l cor grave, e gli occhi umidi e baſſi
" Al mondo ch' è per me un deſerto alpeſtro." TODD

Ibid. They, *hand in hand, with* wandering *ſteps* and ſlow,
Through Eden took their ſolitary way.] Addiſon would

reject theſe two laſt lines of the book, and cloſe it with the verſe before. He ſeems to have been induced to this by a miſtake of the printer, *They, hand in hand;* which reading does indeed make the laſt diſtich ſeem looſe, unconnected, and abſcinded from the reſt. But the author gave it "*Then* hand in hand:" which continues the prior ſentence,

"Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them ſoon;
"*Then* hand in hand."

Nor can theſe two verſes poſſibly be ſpared from the work; for without them Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and ſuburbane of Paradiſe, in the very view of the *dreadful faces.*

"Apparent diræ facies, inimicâque Trojæ
"Numina magna Deûm."

They muſt therefore be diſmiſſed out of Eden, to live thenceforward in ſome other part of the world. And yet this diſtich, as Addiſon well judges, *falls very much below the foregoing paſſage.* It contradicts the poet's own ſcheme; nor is the diction unexceptionable. He tells us before, That Adam, upon hearing Michael's predictions, was even *ſurcharged with joy*, ver. 372; was *replete with joy and wonder*, ver. 468; was in doubt, whether he ſhould *repent of* or *rejoice in his fall*, ver. 475; was *in great peace of thought*, ver. 558; and Eve herſelf *not ſad*, but *full of conſolation*, ver. 620. Why then does this diſtich diſmiſs our firſt parents in anguiſh, and the reader in melancholy? And how can the expreſſion be juſtified, *with wandering ſteps and ſlow?* Why *wandering?* Erratick ſteps? Very improper: when, in the line before, they were *guided by Providence.* And why *ſlow?* when even Eve profeſſed her readineſs and alacrity for the journey, v. 614;

——————"but now lead on;
"In me is no delay."

And why *their ſolitary way?* All words to repreſent a ſorrowful parting? when even their former walks in Paradiſe were as ſolitary, as their way now: there being no body beſides them two both here and there. Shall I therefore, after ſo many prior preſumptions, preſume at laſt to offer a diſtich, as cloſe as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his ſcheme?

" *Then* hand in hand with *ſocial* ſteps their way
" Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.*"
BENTLEY.

As the poem cloſes with theſe two verſes, ſo Dr. Bentley finiſhes his labour with remarks upon them. He obſerves that Addiſon declared for ejecting them both out of the poem; and ſuppoſes him to have been induced to this by a miſtake of the printer. " They *hand in hand:*" which reading (the Doctor thinks) makes the laſt diſtich ſeem looſe, unconnected, and abſcinded from the reſt. But Addiſon was too good a judge of Milton's way of writing, to eject them upon that account only. He gave us another reaſon for his readineſs to part with them, and ſaid that they renew in the mind of the reader that anguiſh, which was pretty well laid by the conſideration of the two foregoing verſes. But it has been ſaid more juſtly by another gentleman (who ſeems well qualified to give a judgement in the caſe) that, *conſidering the moral and chief deſign of this poem, Terrour is the laſt paſſion to be left upon the mind of the reader.* Eſſay on Pope's Odyſſey, Part ii. p. 89. However this be, the Doctor's reaſon for keeping theſe two verſes is extraordinary: he ſays that, unleſs they are kept, Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and ſuburbane of Paradiſe, in the very view of the *dreadful faces:* and he adds that they muſt therefore be diſmiſſed *out of Eden*, to live thenceforward in ſome other part of the world. And yet both in the common reading, and in the Doctor's too, they are left in *Eden*, only taking their way *through* it. But this by the by. Let us ſee how the Doctor would mend the matter; and then I will give my objections to this reading, and afterwards anſwer his objections to Milton's. He propoſes to read thus,

" *Then* hand in hand with *ſocial* ſteps their way
" Through Eden took, *with heav'nly comfort chear'd.*"

To this reading we may object, that the verb wants the word *they* before it; for it is too far to fetch it from ver. 645, when two verſes of a quite different conſtruction are inſerted between. Again, *chear'd with comfort* ſeems tautologous, for *comfort* is implied in *chear'd*, without its being mentioned. Laſtly, if they went *hand in hand*, there is no need to tell us, that their ſteps were

ſocial; they could not be otherwiſe. So much for the Doctor's reading. We are now to conſider the objections which the Doctor makes to the preſent reading. It contradicts (ſays he) the poet's own ſcheme, and the diction is not unexceptionable. With regard to the diction, he aſks, Why were the ſteps *wandering* ones, when *Providence was their guide?* But it might be their *guide*, without pointing out to them which way they ſhould take at every ſtep: The words *Providence their guide* ſignify, that now ſince Michael, who had hitherto conducted them by the hand, was departed from them, they had no guide to their ſteps, only the general guidance of Providence to keep them ſafe and unhurt. Eve (it is plain) expected that her ſteps would be *wandering* ones, when, upon being told that ſhe was to leave Paradiſe, ſhe breaks out into theſe words, B. xi. 282.

" How ſhall I part? and whither *wander* down
" Into a lower world?"

Again the Doctor aſks, Why *ſlow* ſteps; when Eve profeſs'd her readineſs and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614? But that readineſs was not an abſolute one, it was a chooſing rather to go than to ſtay behind there without Adam, ver. 615, &c. In that view ſhe was ready to go: but, in the view of leaving the delights of Paradiſe, they were both backward and even *linger'd*, ver. 638. Their ſteps therefore were *ſlow*. And why (ſays the Doctor) is their way called *ſolitary*, when their walks in Paradiſe were as ſolitary as their way now, there being nobody beſides them two both here and there? It may be anſwered, that their way was *ſolitary*, not in regard to any companions, whom they had met with elſewhere; but becauſe they were here to meet with no objects of any kind that they were acquainted with: Nothing here was *familiar to their eyes*, and (as Adam, then in Paradiſe, well expreſſes it in B. xi. 305.)

————" all places elſe
" Inhoſpitable appear, and *deſolate;*
" Nor knowing us, nor known."

[And may we not, ſays Dr. Newton, by *ſolitary* underſtand farther their being now left by the Angel?] The laſt, but the main objection which the Doctor makes, is that this diſtich contradicts the poet's own ſcheme. To ſupport this charge, he has referred us to

half a dozen places of this twelfth book, where Adam and Eve are ſpoken of, as having *joy, peace, and conſolation*, &c.; and from thence he concludes that this diſtich ought not to diſmiſs our firſt parents in anguiſh, and the reader in melancholy. But the *joy, peace*, and *conſolation*, ſpoken of in thoſe paſſages, are repreſented always as ariſing in our firſt parents from a view of ſome future good, chiefly of the Meſſiah. The thought of leaving Paradiſe (notwithſtanding any other comfort that they had) was all along a *ſorrowful* one to them. Upon this account Eve *fell aſleep wearied with ſorrow and diſtreſs of heart*, ver. 613. Both Adam and Eve *linger'd* at their quitting Paradiſe, ver. 638, and they *dropt ſome natural tears* on that occaſion, ver. 645. In this view the Arch-Angel, ver. 603, recommends to our firſt parents that they ſhould live *unanimous, though ſad with cauſe for evils paſt*. And, for a plainer proof that the ſcheme of the Poem was to diſmiſs them not without *ſorrow*, the poet, in B. xi. 117, puts theſe words into God's mouth, as his inſtruction to Michael,

" So ſend them forth, though *ſorrowing*, yet in peace."

PEARCE.

Theſe two laſt verſes have occaſioned much trouble to the criticks, ſome being for rejecting, others for altering, and others again for tranſpoſing, them: But the propriety of the two lines, and the deſign of the author are fully explained and vindicated in the excellent note of Dr. Pearce. And certainly there is no more neceſſity that an epick poem ſhould conclude happily, than there is that a tragedy ſhould conclude unhappily. There are inſtances of ſeveral tragedies ending happily; and with as good reaſon an epick poem may terminate fortunately or unfortunately, as the nature of the ſubject requires: And the ſubject of *Paradiſe Loſt* plainly requires ſomething of a ſorrowful parting, and was intended no doubt for terrour as well as pity, to inſpire us with the fear of God as well as with commiſeration of Man.

NEWTON.

In the concluding paſſage there is brought together, with uncommon ſtrength of fancy and rapidity of narrative, a number of circumſtances, wonderfully adapted to the purpoſe of filling the mind with ideas of terrifick grandeur: The deſcent of the cherubim; the flaming ſword; the archangel leading in haſte our firſt parents down from the heights of Paradiſe, and then diſappear-

ing; and, above all, the ſcene that preſents itſelf on their looking behind them:

" They, looking back, all the eaſtern ſide beheld
" Of Paradiſe, ſo late their happy ſeat,
" Wav'd over by that flaming brand; the gate
" With dreadful faces throng'd, and fiery arms:"

To which the remaining verſes form the moſt ſtriking contraſt that can be imagined. The *final couplet* renews our ſorrow; by exhibiting, with picturesque accuracy, the moſt mournful ſcene in nature; which yet is ſo prepared, as to raiſe comfort, and diſpoſe to reſignation. And thus, while we are at once melting in tenderneſs, elevated with pious hope, and overwhelmed with the grandeur of deſcription, the divine Poem concludes.

BEATTIE.

It has been propoſed in Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, and lately in a modern publication, to tranſpoſe the concluding verſes thus:

" Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them ſoon;
" *Then*, hand in hand, with wandering ſteps and ſlow,
" Through Eden took their ſolitary way.
" The world was all before them where to chooſe
" Their place of reſt, and Providence their guide."

The learned author of the modern publication further obſerves, that, if a period be placed at the end of the firſt line, the pronoun *they* may be retained; but that the reading propoſed ſeems preferable. See *An Eſſay on the Nature of the Engliſh Verſe*, Lond. 1799, p. 126.

But the beautiful ſimplicity of the concluding verſes muſt not be violated by any alteration, however ingenious, however "fair-appearing." For, as Mr. Burgeſs has obſerved, the poet, *in ending with the deſcription of Adam and Eve's departure through Eden*, recalls in a very lively manner the ſubject of the Poem;

" Of Man's firſt diſobedience, and the fruit
" Of that forbidden tree, whoſe mortal taſte
" Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
" With loſs of Eden;"

and leaves very powerfully on the mind of the reader the impreſſion with which he ſet out, by which the Poem becomes more unique and perfect.

Mr. Stillingfleet, in reply to the preceding criticiſm of Dr. Bentley, maintains alſo the poſition of the concluding diſtich; juſtly obſerving, that the two laſt lines are as proper to ſhow the condition of Adam and Eve at parting, as the two preceding lines are to inform the reader that, however ſeemingly deſerted, they were under the care of Providence. "Milton," the learned critick continues, "knew nothing of that art, ſince practiſed, of ending in a blaze. Thus alſo *Paradiſe Regained* ends with a ſimplicity, which our modern poets would ſurely have avoided: but he and they followed different guides: for he followed nature, and the ancients; but we may ſay to them,

——— *οὐ πατρῴαν τὴν τὴν τέχνην κομπάζετε.*" TODD.

If ever any book was truly poetical, if ever any abounded with poetry, 'tis *Paradiſe Loſt*. What an expanſion of facts from a ſmall ſeed of hiſtory! What worlds are invented, what embelliſhments of nature upon what our ſenſes preſent us with! Divine things are more nobly, more divinely, repreſented to the imagination than by any other poem; a more beautiful idea is given of nature than any poet has pretended to, nature, as juſt come out of the hand of God, in all its virgin lovelineſs, glory, and purity; and the human race is ſhown, not, as Homer's, more gigantick, more robuſt, more valiant, but without compariſon more truly amiable, more ſo than by the pictures and ſtatues of the greateſt maſters. And all theſe ſublime ideas are conveyed to us in the moſt effectual and engaging manner. The mind of the reader is tempered, and prepared, by pleaſure; 'tis drawn, and allured, 'tis awakened, and invigorated, to receive ſuch impreſſions as the poet intended to give it: The Poem opens the fountains of knowledge, piety, and virtue; and pours along full ſtreams of peace, comfort, and joy, to ſuch as can penetrate the true ſenſe of the writer, and obediently liſten to his ſong. In reading the *Iliad* or *Æneis* we treaſure up a collection of fine imaginative pictures, as when we read *Paradiſe Loſt*; only that from thence we have (to ſpeak

like a connoiſſeur) more Rafaelles, Correggios, Guidos, &c. Milton's pictures are more ſublime and great, divine and lovely, than Homer's, or Virgil's, or thoſe of any other poet, or of all the poets, ancient or modern. RICHARDSON.

Throughout the whole of *Paradiſe Loſt* the author appears to have been a moſt critical reader, and paſſionate admirer, of Holy Scripture. He is indebted to Scripture infinitely more than to Homer, and Virgil, and all other books whatever. Not only the principal fable, but all his epiſodes are founded upon Scripture. The Scripture has not only furniſhed him with the nobleſt hints, raiſed his thoughts, and fired his imagination; but has alſo very much enriched his language, given a certain ſolemnity and majeſty to his diction, and ſupplied him with many of his choiceſt, happieſt, expreſſions. Let men therefore learn, from this inſtance, to reverence the Sacred Writings. If any man can pretend to deride or deſpiſe them, it muſt be ſaid of him at leaſt, that he has a taſte and genius the moſt different from Milton's that can be imagined. Whoever has any true taſte and genius, we are confident, will eſteem this Poem the beſt of modern productions, and the Scriptures the beſt of all ancient ones. NEWTON.

I am now to examine *Paradiſe Loſt;* a Poem, which, conſidered with reſpect to deſign, may claim the firſt place, and with reſpect to performance the ſecond, among the productions of the human mind.

By the general conſent of criticks, the firſt praiſe of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an aſſemblage of all the powers which are ſingly ſufficient for other compoſitions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleaſure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reaſon. Epick poetry undertakes to teach the moſt important truths by the moſt pleaſing precepts, and therefore relates ſome great event in the moſt affecting manner. Hiſtory muſt ſupply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he muſt improve and exalt by a nobler art, animate by dramatick energy, and diverſify by retroſpection and anticipation; morality muſt teach him the exact bounds, and different ſhades, of vice and virtue: from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the diſcriminations of character, and the tendency of the paſſions, either ſingle or combined; and phyſiology muſt ſupply him with illuſtrations and images. To put theſe materials

to poetical uſe, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and realizing fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extenſion of his language, diſtinguiſhed all the delicacies of phraſe, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjuſt their different ſounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

Boſſu is of opinion that the poet's firſt work is to find a *moral*, which his fable is afterwards to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh. This ſeems to have been the proceſs only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and conſequent; in Milton's only it is eſſential and intrinſick. His purpoſe was the moſt uſeful and the moſt arduous; *to vindicate the ways of God to Man;* to ſhow the reaſonableneſs of religion, and the neceſſity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral there muſt be a fable, a narration artfully conſtructed, ſo as to excite curioſity, and ſurpriſe expectation. In this part of his work, Milton muſt be confeſſed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved, in his account of the Fall of Man, the events which preceded, and thoſe that were to follow it: he has interwoven the whole ſyſtem of theology with ſuch propriety, that every part appears to be neceſſary; and ſcarcely any recital is wiſhed ſhorter for the ſake of quickening the progreſs of the main action.

The ſubject of an epick poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the deſtruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His ſubject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of Heaven and of Earth; rebellion againſt the Supreme King, raiſed by the higheſt order of created Beings; the overthrow of their hoſt, and the puniſhment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reaſonable creatures; their original happineſs and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their reſtoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be haſtened or retarded only by perſons of elevated dignity. Before the greatneſs diſplayed in Milton's Poem, all other greatneſs ſhrinks away. The weakeſt of his agents are the higheſt and nobleſt of human Beings, the original parents of mankind; with whoſe actions the elements conſented; on whoſe rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the ſtate of terreſtrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the Poem, the chief are ſuch as it is irreverence to name on ſlight occaſions. The reſt were lower Powers;

—— " of which the leaſt could wield
" Thoſe elements, and arm him with the force
" Of all their regions:"

Powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence reſtrains from laying creation waſte, and filling the vaſt expanſe of ſpace with ruin and confuſion. To diſplay the motives and actions of beings thus ſuperiour, ſo far as human reaſon can examine them, or human imagination repreſent them, is the taſk which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epick poems much ſpeculation is commonly employed upon the characters. The characters in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which admit of examination, are thoſe of Angels and of Man; of Angels good and evil; of Man in his innocent and ſinful ſtate.

Among the Angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of eaſy condeſcenſion and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may ſeem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occaſionally, and act as every incident requires; the ſolitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil Angels the characters are more diverſified. To Satan, as Addiſon obſerves, ſuch ſentiments are given as ſuit *the moſt exalted and moſt depraved Being*. Milton has been cenſured, by Clarke*, for the impiety which ſometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he juſtly remarks, which no obſervation of character can juſtify, becauſe no good man would willingly permit them to paſs, however tranſiently, through his own mind. To make Satan ſpeak as a rebel, without any ſuch expreſſions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think that he has extricated himſelf with great happineſs. There is in Satan's ſpeeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the ſame with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtineſs and obſtinacy; but his expreſſions are commonly general, and no otherwiſe offenſive than as they are wicked.

* Author of the " Eſſay on Study." Dr. J.

The other chiefs of the celeſtial rebellion are very judiciouſly diſcriminated in the firſt and ſecond books; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact conſiſtency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, ſuch ſentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repaſts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addreſſes to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to aſk, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter diſtruſt and diſcord, mutual accuſation, and ſtubborn ſelf-defence; they regard each other with alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their tranſgreſſion. At laſt they ſeek ſhelter in his mercy, ſoften to repentance, and melt in ſupplication. Both before and after the Fall, the ſuperiority of Adam is diligently ſuſtained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epick poem, which immerge the critick in deep conſideration, the *Paradiſe Loſt* requires little to be ſaid. It contains the hiſtory of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it diſplays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The ſubſtance of the narrative is truth; and, as truth allows no choice, it is, like neceſſity, ſuperiour to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, ſome ſlight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably ſupported.

It is juſtly remarked by Addiſon, that this Poem has, by the nature of its ſubject, the advantage above all others, that it is univerſally and perpetually intereſting*. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the ſame relation to Adam and to Eve, and muſt partake of that good and evil which extend to themſelves.

Of the machinery, ſo called from Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, by which is meant the occaſional interpoſition of ſupernatural power, another fertile topick of critical remarks, here is no room to ſpeak, becauſe every thing is done under the immediate and viſible direction of Heaven; but the rule is ſo far obſerved, that no part of the action could have been accompliſhed by any other means.

* See however the Note on this remark of Addison, in the present edition, *Prolegom.* vol. ii. p. 16. TODD.

Of epiſodes, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in Heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are cloſely connected with the great action; one was neceſſary to Adam as a warning, the other as a conſolation.

To the completeneſs or *integrity* of the deſign nothing can be objected; it has diſtinctly and clearly what Ariſtotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the ſame length, from which ſo little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long deſcription of a ſhield. The ſhort digreſſions at the beginning of the third, ſeventh, and ninth books, might doubtleſs be ſpared; but ſuperfluities ſo beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wiſh that the author of the *Iliad* had gratified ſucceeding ages with a little knowledge of himſelf? Perhaps no paſſages are more frequently or more attentively read than thoſe extrinſick paragraphs; and, ſince the end of poetry is pleaſure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleaſed.

The queſtions, whether the action of the Poem be ſtrictly *one*, whether the Poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raiſed by ſuch readers as draw their principles of judgement rather from books than from reaſon. Milton, though he intituled *Paradiſe Loſt* only a *poem*, yet calls it himſelf *heroick ſong*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroiſm of Adam, becauſe he was overcome; but there is no reaſon why the hero ſhould not be unfortunate, except eſtabliſhed practice, ſince ſucceſs and virtue do not go neceſſarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be ſuffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if ſucceſs be neceſſary, Adam's deceiver was at laſt cruſhed; Adam was reſtored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may ſecurely reſume his human rank.

After the ſcheme and fabrick of the Poem, muſt be conſidered its component parts, the ſentiments and the diction.

The ſentiments, as expreſſive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably juſt.

Splendid paſſages, containing leſſons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur ſeldom. Such is the original formation of this Poem, that, as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little aſſiſtance to human conduct. Its end is to raiſe the thoughts above ſublunary cares or pleaſures. Yet the praiſe of

that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his ſingularity of virtue againſt the ſcorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curioſity after the planetary motions, with the anſwer returned by Adam, may be confidently oppoſed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts, which are occaſionally called forth in the progreſs, are ſuch as could only be produced by an imagination in the higheſt degree fervid and active, to which materials were ſupplied by inceſſant ſtudy and unlimited curioſity. The heat of Milton's mind might be ſaid to ſublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the ſpirit of ſcience, unmingled with its groſſer parts.

He had conſidered creation in its whole extent, and his deſcriptions are therefore learned. He had accuſtomed his imagination to unreſtrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extenſive. The characteriſtick quality of his Poem is ſublimity. He ſometimes deſcends to the elegant; but his element is the great. He can occaſionally inveſt himſelf with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftineſs*. He can pleaſe when pleaſure is required; but it is his peculiar power to aſtoniſh.

He ſeems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had beſtowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of diſplaying the vaſt, illuminating the ſplendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore choſe a ſubject on which too much could not be ſaid, on which he might tire his fancy without the cenſure of extravagance.

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did not ſatiate his appetite of greatneſs. To paint things as they are, requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to ſport in the wide regions of poſſibility; reality was a ſcene too narrow for his mind. He ſent his faculties out upon diſcovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel; and delighted to form new modes of exiſtence, and furniſh ſentiment and action to ſuperiour Beings, to trace the counſels of Hell, or accompany the choirs of Heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds: he muſt ſometimes reviſit earth, and tell of things viſible and known. When

* Algarotti terms it *gigantesca sublimità Miltoniana*. Dr. J.

he cannot raiſe wonder by the ſublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his ſubject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and deſcriptions of the ſcenes or operations of Nature do not ſeem to be always copied from original form, or to have the freſhneſs, racineſs, and energy, of immediate obſervation. He ſaw Nature, as Dryden expreſſes it, *through the ſpectacles of books;* and on moſt occaſions calls learning to his aſſiſtance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of *Enna*, where Proſerpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like *Argo* between the *Cyanean* rocks, or *Ulyſſes* between the two *Sicilian* whirlpools, when he ſhunned *Charybdis* on the *larboard.* The mythological alluſions have been juſtly cenſured, as not being always uſed with notice of their vanity; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exerciſe of the memory and the fancy.

His ſimilies are leſs numerous, and more various, than thoſe of his predeceſſours. But he does not confine himſelf within the limits of rigorous compariſon: his great excellence is amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimenſions which the occaſion required. Thus, comparing the ſhield of Satan to the orb of the moon, he crowds the imagination with the diſcovery of the teleſcope, and all the wonders which the teleſcope diſcovers.

Of his moral ſentiments it is hardly praiſe to affirm that they excel thoſe of all other poets; for this ſuperiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the ſacred writings. The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unſkilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may riſe from their works with a greater degree of active or paſſive fortitude, and ſometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of juſtice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Chriſtian knowledge may be poſſeſſed in vain. Arioſto's pravity is generally known; and, though the *Deliverance of Jeruſalem* may be conſidered as a ſacred ſubject, the poet has been very ſparing of moral inſtruction.

In Milton every line breathes ſanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the

introduction of the rebellious Spirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their ſubjection to God, in ſuch a manner as excites reverence and confirms piety.

Of human Beings there are about two; but thoſe two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and ſubmiſſion. In their firſt ſtate their affection is tender without weakneſs, and their piety ſublime without preſumption. When they have ſinned, they ſhow how diſcord begins in natural frailty, and how it ought to ceaſe in mutual forbearance; how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by ſin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer. A ſtate of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our preſent miſery, it be poſſible to conceive it; but the ſentiments and worſhip proper to a fallen and offending Being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practiſe.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their firſt ſtate, converſed with Angels; even when folly and ſin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean ſuitors*; and they riſe again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

As human paſſions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the *Paradiſe Loſt* little opportunity for the pathetick; but what little there is has not been loſt. That paſſion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguiſh ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of tranſgreſſion, and the horrours attending the ſenſe of the Divine diſpleaſure, are very juſtly deſcribed and forcibly impreſſed. But the paſſions are moved only on one occaſion; ſublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this Poem; ſublimity variouſly modified, ſometimes deſcriptive, ſometimes argumentative.

The defects and faults of *Paradiſe Loſt*, for faults and defects every work of man muſt have, it is the buſineſs of impartial criticiſm to diſcover. As, in diſplaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, becauſe of ſelecting beauties there had been no end, I ſhall in the ſame general manner mention that which ſeems to deſerve cenſure; for what Engliſhman can take delight in tranſcribing paſſages, which, if they leſſen the reputation of Milton, diminiſh in ſome degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my ſcheme does not admit the frequent no-

tice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better ſkilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he ſometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtruſions of a reviſer whom the author's blindneſs obliged him to employ. A ſuppoſition raſh and groundleſs, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, as is ſaid, he in private allowed it to be falſe.

The plan of *Paradiſe Loſt* has this inconvenience, that it compriſes neither human actions nor human manners. The Man and Woman, who act and ſuffer, are in a ſtate which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no tranſaction in which he can be engaged; beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himſelf; he has, therefore, little natural curioſity or ſympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's diſobedience; we all ſin like Adam, and like him muſt all bewail our offences; we have reſtleſs and inſidious enemies in the fallen Angels, and in the bleſſed Spirits we have guardians and friends; in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be included; and in the deſcription of Heaven and Hell we are ſurely intereſted, as we are all to reſide hereafter either in the regions of horrour or of bliſs.

But theſe truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy; they have mingled with our ſolitary thoughts and familiar converſation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raiſe no unaccuſtomed emotion in the mind; what we knew before we cannot learn; what is not unexpected cannot ſurpriſe.

Of the ideas ſuggeſted by theſe awful ſcenes, from ſome we recede with reverence, except when ſtated hours require their aſſociation; and from others we ſhrink with horrour, or admit them only as ſalutary inflictions, as counterpoiſes to our intereſts and paſſions. Such images rather obſtruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleaſure and terrour are indeed the genuine ſources of poetry; but poetical pleaſure muſt be ſuch as human imagination can at leaſt conceive, and poetical terrour ſuch as human ſtrength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind ſinks under them in paſſive helpleſſneſs, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed it with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himſelf. Whoever conſiders the few radical poſitions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetick operation he expanded them to ſuch extent, and ramified them to ſo much variety, reſtrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiouſneſs of fiction.

Here is a full diſplay of the united force of ſtudy and genius; of a great accumulation of materials, with judgement to digeſt, and fancy to combine, them: Milton was able to ſelect from nature, or from ſtory, from ancient fable, or from modern ſcience, whatever could illuſtrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by ſtudy, and ſublimed by imagination.

It has been therefore ſaid, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiaſts, that in reading *Paradiſe Loſt* we read a book of univerſal knowledge.

But original deficience cannot be ſupplied. The want of human intereſt is always felt. *Paradiſe Loſt* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. Its peruſal is a duty rather than a pleaſure. We read Milton for inſtruction, retire haraſſed and overburdened, and look elſewhere for recreation; we deſert our maſter, and ſeek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's deſign is, that it requires the deſcription of what cannot be deſcribed, the agency of Spirits. He ſaw that immateriality ſupplied no images, and that he could not ſhow Angels acting but by inſtruments of action; he therefore inveſted them with form and matter. This, being neceſſary, was therefore defenſible; and he ſhould have ſecured the conſiſtency of his ſyſtem, by keeping immateriality out of ſight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philoſophy. His infernal and celeſtial powers are ſometimes pure ſpirit, and ſometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning marle*, he has a body; when, in his paſſage between Hell and the new world, he is in danger of ſinking in the vacuity, and is ſupported by a guſt of riſing vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he ſeems to be mere ſpirit, that can penetrate

matter at pleaſure; when he *ſtarts up in his own ſhape*, he has at leaſt a determined form; and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has *a ſpear and ſhield*, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending Angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandemonium being *incorporeal Spirits*, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited ſpace; yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *cruſhed in upon their ſubſtance, now grown groſs by ſinning*. This likewiſe happened to the uncorrupted Angels, who were overthrown *the ſooner for their arms*, for *unarmed they might eaſily as Spirits have evaded by contraction, or remove*. Even as Spirits they are hardly ſpiritual; for *contraction* and *remove* are images of matter; but, if they could have eſcaped without their armour, they might have eſcaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered. Uriel, when he rides on a ſun-beam, is material: Satan is material when he is afraid of the proweſs of Adam.

The confuſion of ſpirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the War of Heaven fills it with incongruity; and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is encreaſed.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be explained, may be conſidered that of allegorical perſons, which have no real exiſtence. To exalt cauſes into agents, to inveſt abſtract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry. But ſuch aery Beings are, for the moſt part, ſuffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a ſtandard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or aſcribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to ſhock the mind by aſcribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of Æſchylus, we ſee *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the *Alceſtis* of Euripides, we ſee *Death* brought upon the ſtage, all as active perſons of the drama; but no precedents can juſtify abſurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portreſs of hell; but when they ſtop the journey of Satan, a journey deſcribed as real, and when Death offers him battle, the

allegory is broken. That Sin and Death ſhould have ſhown the way to Hell might have been allowed; but they cannot facilitate the paſſage by building a bridge, becauſe the difficulty of Satan's paſſage is deſcribed as real and ſenſible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The Hell, aſſigned to the rebellious Spirits, is deſcribed as not leſs local than the reſidence of Man. It is placed in ſome diſtant part of ſpace, ſeparated from the regions of harmony and order, by a chaotick waſte and unoccupied vacuity; but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole* of *aggravated ſoil*, cemented with *aſphaltus;* a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unſkilful allegory appears to me one of the greateſt faults of the Poem; and to this there was no temptation but the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative ſome objection may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradiſe, and is ſuffered to go away unmoleſted. The creation of Man is repreſented as the conſequence of the vacuity left in Heaven by the expulſion of the rebels, yet Satan mentions it as a report *riſe in Heaven* before his departure.

To find ſentiments for the ſtate of innocence, was very difficult; and ſomething of anticipation perhaps is now and then diſcovered. Adam's diſcourſe of dreams ſeems not to be the ſpeculation of a new-created Being. I know not whether his anſwer to the Angel's reproof for curioſity does not want ſomething of propriety: it is the ſpeech of a man acquainted with many other men. Some philoſophical notions, eſpecially when the philoſophy is falſe, might have been better omitted. The Angel, in a compariſon, ſpeaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could underſtand the compariſon.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has ſome flats among his elevations. This is only to ſay that all the parts are not equal. In every work one part muſt be for the ſake of others; a palace muſt have paſſages; a poem muſt have tranſitions. It is no more to be required that wit ſhould always be blazing, than that the ſun ſhould always ſtand at noon. In a great work there is a viciſſitude of luminous and opaque parts, as there is in the world a ſucceſſion of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the ſky, may be allowed ſometimes to reviſit earth; for what other author ever ſoared ſo high; or ſuſtained his flight ſo long?

Milton, being well verſed in the Italian poets, appears to have

borrowed often from them: and, as every man learns something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the *Paradise of Fools;* a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art; it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured, and at last bear so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance *Paradise Lost;* which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less to be censured for want of candour than pitied for want of sensibility. JOHNSON.

Milton has chalked out for himself a new and very extraordinary road in poetry. As soon as we open his *Paradise Lost,* we find ourselves introduced all at once into an invisible world, and surrounded with celestial and infernal Beings. Angels, and Devils, are not the machinery, but principal actors, in the Poem; and what in any other composition would be the marvellous, is here only the natural course of events. A subject so remote from the affairs of this world, may furnish ground to those, who think such discussions material, to bring it into doubt, whether *Paradise Lost* can properly be classed among epick poems. By whatever name it is to be called, it is, undoubtedly, one of the highest efforts of poetical genius; and in one great characteristick of the epick poem, Majesty and Sublimity, it is fully equal to any that bear that name.

How far the author was altogether happy in the choice of his subject, may be questioned. It has led him into very difficult ground. Had he taken a subject that was more human, and less theological; that was more connected with the occurrences of life, and afforded a greater display of the characters and passions of men, his Poem would, perhaps, have, to the bulk of readers, been more pleasing and attractive. But the subject, which he has chosen, suited the daring sublimity of his genius. It is a subject for which Milton alone was fitted; and, in the conduct of it, he has shown a stretch both of imagination and invention, which is perfectly wonderful. It is astonishing how, from the

few hints given us in the Sacred Scriptures, he was able to raiſe ſo complete and regular a ſtructure; and to fill his Poem with ſuch a variety of incidents. Dry and harſh paſſages ſometimes occur. The author appears, upon ſome occaſions, a Metaphyſician and a Divine, rather than a poet. But the general tenour of his work is intereſting; he ſeizes and fixes the imagination; engages, elevates, and affects us as we proceed; which is always a ſure teſt of merit in an epick compoſition. The artful change of his objects; the ſcene laid now in Earth, now in Hell, and now in Heaven, afford a ſufficient diverſity; while unity of plan is, at the ſame time, perfectly ſupported. We have ſtill life, and calm ſcenes, in the employments of Adam and Eve in Paradiſe; and we have buſy ſcenes, and great actions, in the enterpriſe of Satan, and the wars of the Angels. The innocence, purity, and amiableneſs of our firſt parents, oppoſed to the pride and ambition of Satan, furniſh a happy contraſt, that reigns throughout the whole Poem; only the concluſion is too tragick for epick poetry.

The nature of the ſubject did not admit any great diſplay of characters; but ſuch as could be introduced are ſupported with much propriety. Satan, in particular, makes a ſtriking figure, and is, indeed, the beſt drawn character in the Poem. Milton has not deſcribed him ſuch, as we ſuppoſe an infernal Spirit to be. He has, more ſuitably to his own purpoſe, given him a human, that is, a mixed character, not altogether void of ſome good qualities. He is brave and faithful to his troops. In the midſt of his impiety, he is not without remorſe. He is even touched with pity for our firſt parents; and juſtifies himſelf in his deſign againſt them, from the neceſſity of his ſituation. He is actuated by ambition and reſentment, rather than by pure malice. In ſhort, Milton's Satan is no worſe than many a conſpirator, or factious chief, that makes a figure in hiſtory. The different characters of Beelzebub, Moloch, and Belial, are exceedingly well painted in thoſe eloquent ſpeeches which they make, in the ſecond book. The good Angels, though always deſcribed with dignity and propriety, have more uniformity than the Infernal Spirits in their appearance; though among them, too, the dignity of Michael, the mild condeſcenſion of Raphael, and the tried fidelity of Abdiel, form proper characteriſtical diſtinctions. The attempt to deſcribe God Almighty himſelf, and to recount dialogues between the Father and the Son, was too bold and arduous, and is that

wherein our poet, as was to have been expected, has been moſt unſucceſsful. With regard to his human characters; the innocence of our firſt parents, and their love, are finely and delicately painted. In ſome of his ſpeeches to Raphael and to Eve, Adam is, perhaps, too knowing and refined for his ſituation. Eve is more diſtinctly characteriſed. Her gentleneſs, modeſty, and frailty, mark very expreſſively a female character.

Milton's great and diſtinguiſhing excellence is, his ſublimity. In this, perhaps, he excels Homer; as there is no doubt of his leaving Virgil, and every other poet, far behind him. Almoſt the whole of the firſt and ſecond books of *Paradiſe Loſt* are continued inſtances of the ſublime. The proſpect of Hell and of the fallen hoſt, the appearance and behaviour of Satan, the conſultation of the infernal chiefs, and Satan's flight through Chaos to the borders of this world, diſcover the moſt lofty ideas that ever entered into the conception of any poet. In the ſixth book alſo, there is much grandeur, particularly in the appearance of the Meſſiah; though ſome parts of that book are cenſurable; and the witticiſms of the Devils upon the effect of their artillery, form an intolerable blemiſh. Milton's ſublimity is of a different kind from that of Homer. Homer's is generally accompanied with fire and impetuoſity; Milton's poſſeſſes more of a calm and amazing grandeur. Homer warms and hurries us along; Milton fixes us in a ſtate of aſtoniſhment and elevation. Homer's ſublimity appears moſt in the deſcription of actions; Milton's, in that of wonderful and ſtupendous objects.

But though Milton is moſt diſtinguiſhed for his ſublimity, yet there is alſo much of the beautiful, the tender, and the pleaſing, in many parts of his work. When the ſcene is laid in Paradiſe, the imagery is always of the moſt gay and ſmiling kind. His deſcriptions ſhow an uncommonly fertile imagination; and in his ſimilies he is, for the moſt part, remarkably happy. They are ſeldom improperly introduced; ſeldom either low, or trite. They generally preſent to us images taken from the ſublime or the beautiful claſs of objects; if they have any faults, it is their alluding too frequently to matters of learning, and to fables of antiquity. In the latter part of *Paradiſe Loſt*, there muſt be confeſſed to be a falling off. With the fall of our firſt parents, Milton's genius ſeems to decline. Beauties, however, there are, in the concluding books, of the tragick kind. The remorſe and

contrition of the guilty pair, and their lamentations over Paradiſe when they are obliged to leave it, are very moving. The laſt epiſode of the Angel's ſhowing Adam the fate of his poſterity, is happily imagined; but, in many places, the execution is languid.

Milton's language and verſification have high merit. His ſtyle is full of majeſty, and wonderfully adapted to his ſubject. His blank verſe is harmonious and diverſified, and affords the moſt complete example of the elevation, which our language is capable of attaining by the force of numbers. It does not flow like the French verſe, in tame, regular, uniform melody, which ſoon tires the ear; but is ſometimes ſmooth and flowing, ſometimes rough; varied in its cadence, and intermixed with diſcords, ſo as to ſuit the ſtrength and freedom of epick compoſition. Neglected and proſaick lines, indeed, we ſometimes meet with; but in a work ſo long, and in the main ſo harmonious, theſe may be forgiven.

On the whole; *Paradiſe Loſt* is a Poem that abounds with beauties of every kind, and that juſtly entitles its author to a degree of fame not inferiour to that of any poet; though it muſt be alſo admitted to have many inequalities. It is the lot of almoſt every high and daring genius, not to be uniform and correct. Milton is too frequently theological and metaphyſical; ſometimes harſh in his language; often too technical in his words, and affectedly oſtentatious of his learning. Many of his faults muſt be attributed to the age in which he lived. He diſcovers a vigour, a graſp of genius, equal to every thing that is great; if at ſometimes he falls much below himſelf, at other times he riſes above every poet of the ancient or modern world. BLAIR.

If Milton's Raphael, his Satan, and his Adam, have as much dignity as the Apollo Belvidere; his Eve has all the delicacy of the Venus of Medici, and his deſcription of Eden has the colouring of Albano. His tenderneſs always imprints ideas as graceful as Guido's Madonnas; and the Allegro, Penſeroſo, and Comus, might be denominated from the three Graces. His ſoul was full of poetry, ſenſe, and fire; and he had improved all thoſe qualities by ſtudying the beſt models. Thus prepared, he gave a looſe to his genius, which was too impetuous and ſublime to be curbed by the mechaniſm of rhyme; which would often have

impeded his expreſſing all he felt, and oftener perhaps have obliged him to add frigidities to help out the return of the ſound. LORD ORFORD.

Enthuſiaſm was the characteriſtick of Milton's mind: In politicks, it made him ſometimes too generouſly credulous, and ſometimes too rigorouſly deciſive; but, in poetry, it exalted him to ſuch a degree of excellence as no man has hitherto ſurpaſſed; nor is it probable that in this province he will ever be excelled; for, although in all the arts there are undoubtedly points of perfection much higher than any mortal has yet attained, ſtill it requires ſuch a coincidence of ſo many advantages depending on the influence both of nature and of deſtiny to raiſe a great artiſt of any kind, that the world has but little reaſon to expect productions of poetical genius ſuperiour to the *Paradiſe Loſt*. There was a bold yet refined originality of conception, which characteriſed the mental powers of Milton, and gives him the higheſt claim to diſtinction: We are not only indebted to him for having extended and ennobled the province of epick poetry; but he has another title to our regard, as the founder of that recent and enchanting Engliſh art, which has embelliſhed our country, and

——————— " made Albion ſmile
" One ample theatre of ſylvan grace."

The elegant hiſtorian of modern gardening, Lord Orford, and the two accompliſhed poets, who have celebrated its charms both in France and England, De Lille and Maſon, have, with great juſtice, and felicity of expreſſion, paid their homage to Milton, as the beneficent genius, who beſtowed upon the world this youngeſt and moſt lovely of the arts.* HAYLEY.

The poems of Homer and Milton are not unlike in ſeveral reſpects. As Homer's has been obſerved to be the history of the gods, Milton's may be ſaid to be that of devils. Homer had his Pantheon, Milton his Pandemonium; each their courts and council, and each a ſupreme regent. But wherein they differ, the difference is immenſe in the eſtimation of the two poems, with reſpect to their ſupernatural machinery. Willing, or unwilling, man was ſubject to the caprice and violence of Homer's

* In reference to this subject, compare also Mr. Warton's notes on *Comus*, ver. 976, 984; Mr. Dunster's note on *Par. Reg.* ii. 289; and the editor's note on *Il. Pens.* ver. 50.

gods; and thoſe gods uſurped over the whole field of human action. While only by the conſent of his own will, man could be ſubjected to the influence of Milton's devils; and, if ſuffering under this influence, had ſtill his refuge in an almighty, wiſe, and beneficent Being. From the tyranny of Homer's gods man had no refuge whatever. In the court of Homer's heaven all was diſcord and miſrule; god was oppoſed to god, and all the pretended power of Jove was impotent to reconcile the contending deities, or by awe reduce them to ſubmiſſion. Milton's Satan was truly ſovereign, and a union of ſentiment and deſign pervaded the whole of his gloomy domain. Milton's devils, though wicked beyond the ſtyle of Homer's gods, are uniformly grand; they exhibit that ſublime of the terrifick to which the epick aſpires. Homer's gods, though wicked enough, are as fooliſh, and freakiſh, as they are wicked; they are not ſuperiour to what we may conceive of the loweſt rabble in Milton's hell. I enter not into the heaven of Milton; and, perhaps, it would have been as well, if he had not ſo familiarly unveiled the ſacred region. But there Homer preſents no parallel, and the comparison fails. The picture of man alſo in the two poems is greatly in favour of Milton, and ſhews the advantage which is derived to the mind that has received a purer and nobler faith. Indeed to illuſtrate this advantage, and by contraſt excite a ſtronger impreſſion of the meanneſs, and groſsneſs, and worthleſsneſs, of Homer's ſupernatural machinery, was my direct view in this compariſon.*

G. WALKER.

One of the principal defects of the Poem, is occaſioned by the ambitious attempt of the poet to give ſenſible action to the negative idea of ſpirit. It is an opinion in itſelf moſt probable, and entertained by many eminent divines, that the Deity is the only perfectly diſembodied ſpirit in the univerſe. Limited agency, indeed, ſeems to be incompatible with a ſubſtance which, occupying no ſpace, is without locality; which is, conſequently, every where and entirely preſent, and which, therefore, muſt neceſſarily be capable of acting every where, at the ſame inſtant, with an equal and undivided force. The higheſt intelli-

* From the Rev. George Walker's Eſſay *On the Machinery of the Ancient Epick Poem*, in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society of Manchester.

gences, then, who approach the moſt nearly to the throne of the Supreme, muſt be ſuppoſed to be inveſted with bodies, and may conſequently, without impropriety or inconſiſtency, be introduced into the action of dramatick or epick ſong. But Milton was reſolved to make his angelick beings ſpirits, in the higher acceptation of the word ſpirit, and has of courſe been led into difficulties and contrarieties. With bodies defined, though not reſtrained as to dimenſion and ſhape, operating with ſucceſſive action, obnoxious to corporeal pain and to impreſſions from external matter, theſe ſuper-human agents are declared to be "incorporeal ſpirits;" and are, on ſome occaſions, endued with the peculiar properties of ſpiritual ſubſtances. In the ſixth book his embarraſſment more evidently, or rather more ſtrikingly, occurs; and I agree with Dr. Johnſon, who has remarked the incongruity which I have noticed, in placing this book, aſtoniſhingly ſublime as are many of its paſſages, among the leaſt happy of the twelve which conſtitute the poem.

On the introduction of the perſons of Sin and Death, and the action which is attributed to them, I muſt confeſs myſelf to diſſent in opinion from the able critick whom I have juſt named, as well as from Addiſon; to whoſe taſte, if not to whoſe power of intellect, I feel much more inclined to bow in ſubmiſſive deference. When he formed theſe perſonages, and blended them with the agents of his poem, the poet appears to me to have availed himſelf of an indiſputable privilege of his art; and, having endued them with conſiſtent action, to be no more cenſurable for their creation than for that of Moloch or of Belial, with whom in fact they exiſt in equally ſubſtantial being. The whole of the machinery of Homer has been explained into allegory; and the Grecian bard, when he deſolates the camp of the Greeks with the arrows of Apollo, is as open to reprehenſion as the Engliſh, when he oppoſes the progreſs of Satan with the dart of Death: in the firſt inſtance, the plain fact to be related is the ravage of a peſtilence; and in the laſt, the danger of annihilation to which the adventurous Archangel was expoſed by the attempt to break from his priſon. If any authority were wanted to ſupport Milton in this particular exertion of his poetick prerogative, it might eaſily be obtained from the ſacred Scriptures. In theſe Sin is diſtinctly perſonified in more than

one place, and Death is not only deſcribed as the laſt enemy whom the Son of God is to vanquiſh; but, in a dreadfully ſublime paſſage in the Apocalypſe, is inveſted with ſpecifick and formidable agency, mounted upon a pale horſe, with all hell following in his train.

With Addiſon, I have always regretted the diſcontinuance of the ſtory in viſion, at the commencement of the twelfth book; and have regarded the circumſtance, whether reſulting from apprehended difficulty or from errour in the great poet's judgement, as forming a blemiſh in the work, and conducting it with abated vigour to the goal. But to ſuggeſt the defects of this glorious poem would be a ſhort labour, while a diſplay of its beauties would occupy a volume. With reſpect to grandeur of conception, it muſt be regarded as the firſt, or to the general exhibition of intellectual power as, unqueſtionably, the ſecond among all the productions of human genius; while, in the ſubordinate excellencies of compoſition, it will be found to yield the precedency only to the wonderful Iliad, or to the auguſt and poliſhed Æneid. If we reflect, indeed, on the greatly inferiour language, in which the Engliſh poet has been compelled to embody the creation of his brain, we ſhall be much more ſurpriſed at the approach in perfection which he has made to the poetick diction of the two mighty maſters of heroick ſong, than at his acknowledged inability to exalt the beauty and harmony of his muſe into a doubtful competition with theirs. SYMMONS.

Mr. Dunſter thus ingeniouſly defends what the preceding critick, in concurrence with Addiſon, condemns: "I cannot any ways conceive how ſo large a portion of hiſtory, as is contained in the twelfth book, could have been given in viſions, as in the preceding book, accompanied with the requiſite explanations and connections, without extending it to a moſt diſproportionate length. The building of the tower of Babel, it muſt be acknowledged, might have formed a viſion of very fine deſcription. And ſo might the hiſtory of Abraham; but all the effect of viſion is in that part moſt admirably preſerved in the narration; and the ſame obſervation applies to the view of the land of Egypt. The plagues of Egypt, in the mode of repreſentation in the eleventh book, muſt have furniſhed ſuch a ſucceſſion of viſions as could not but be tedious; while, in the narration, they are given

with an admirable comprehenſive brevity that fully conveys to us, in boldly pictureſque ſketches, every circumſtance neceſſary to be related. I muſt here aſk, what Viſion, or explanation or connection of Viſion, could have repreſented to us the noble image, which Addiſon ſo juſtly admires, as given in the ſimple narration, of

——— through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth — ?

How alſo was the Delivery of the Law to have been repreſented, under all its ſublime circumſtances in Viſion? Or how the various legal types of the Redeemer to be conveyed clearly without much explanation conſequent to Viſion; while in narration they are at once briefly, fully, and momentouſly intimated? Or how would the poet have managed in Viſion the great miracle, which is here related with ſuch conciſe ſublimity, of the heavenly bodies ſtanding ſtill at the command of Joſhua? I will venture alſo to ſay, that no Viſion, however largely deſcribed, could have given us a more beautifully poetical picture of the Nativity than Milton has given us in twelve lines of narration. Nor can we poſſibly wiſh the life and death of our Bleſſed Lord, ſo finely condenſed in four lines, to have been dilated into Viſion; nor his reſurrection, ſo exquiſitely touched in four other lines of ſupereminent beauty; and certainly not his aſcenſion, his triumphant reſumption of his heavenly ſeat, and his coming again to judge the world at the laſt day: all of which are given in the ſublimeſt manner of ſacred poetry, and are executed with the moſt accompliſhed and chaſtened ſkill, the trueſt and moſt learned judgement, and a ſpirit of the moſt elevated and ſeraphick devotion. In fact, when Addiſon wiſhed the remaining part of the hiſtory of mankind to be ſhadowed out in viſible objects, it appears to me that he wiſhed what could not well be done any way; and certainly not in the requiſite compaſs, nor, as I conceive, with ſuch real poetick beauty and true ſublime effect. Nor do I think the amiable, and in general highly taſteful, critick at all more fortunate in objecting to the early part of the hiſtory being given in Viſion, and the latter part in Narration, becauſe it is '*as if an hiſtory-painter ſhould put in colours one half of his ſubject, and write down the remaining half of it.*' The hiſtory, contained in the eleventh book, it muſt be obſerved, is by no means conveyed wholly in colours. It is in fact a ſeries

of pictures, accompanied with abundant explanatory and connective elucidation. In his remainder of the hiſtory, the accruing materials requiſite to be noticed come ſo thick, that the repetition of numerous Viſions would have been a laborious taſk to the artiſt, while he would only have fatigued and diſguſted thoſe whom he wiſhed to inform and delight. Here therefore the poet judiciouſly reverſes his plan; and, as the hiſtory down to the Flood was given in Viſion or Painting, connected and explained by Narrative, ſo the ſubſequent hiſtory is given in Narrative enlivened and illuſtrated occaſionally by bold ſketches and brief delineations, which are given with the hand of a maſter, and equal in effect the larger and more finiſhed productions of the pencil."—

It might ſeem alſo unjuſt to the poetical character of Milton, if I cloſed the remarks on his immortal Poem, without obſerving that the ſixth book has been perhaps too contemptuouſly treated. If we except the puns of the Satanick hoſt, we ſhall hardly find any book in the Poem (generally ſpeaking) more juſtly entitled to the praiſe of ſublimity and the meed of admiration. But it has been deſcribed in the brilliant and animated criticiſm of Johnſon, as fit to be "the favourite of children." I ſubſcribe, however, to Mr. Hayley's elegant reply; that "imagination itſelf may be depreciated, by the auſterity of logick, as a childiſh faculty; but thoſe, who love even its exceſſes, may be allowed to exult in its delights. No reader, truly poetical, ever peruſed the ſixth book without enjoying a kind of tranſport, which a ſtern logician might indeed condemn, but which he might alſo think it more deſirable to ſhare." Not to reprobate an unqualified depreciation of this aſtoniſhing book, or rather not to aſſert its general excellence, might indeed be ſaid to countenance in part the remark of Laharpe; who, with infinite conceit, has not ſcrupled to inſult learning in the groſſeſt and moſt unjuſt manner, as well as to degrade his own literary reputation, by aſſerting "that the *Paradiſe Loſt* is a ſhapeleſs production, which ſwarms with faults the moſt offenſive; which has neither courſe nor plan; and which joins, to ſo many other faults, *that of terminating at the end of the fifth canto; ſo that it is impoſſible to wade through what follows without languour!*"

If alſo the firſt ſix books of *Paradiſe Loſt* muſt be conſidered as the moſt brilliant and animated, the remaining books afford abundant

examples, however, of the beautiful and the pathetick, abundant proofs of the poet's ſkill in the intereſting management of his ſubject. "Milton," Mr. Dunſter excellently obſerves, "opened his inimitable Poem with the ſublimely grand horrour of the Infernal regions; from whence he ſoared at once into the Celeſtial Manſions and the Heaven of Heavens; and then carried us into the beautiful ſcenes of a Terreſtrial Paradiſe, with every delightful circumſtance attendant on Human Beings in a ſtate of the pureſt Innocence and trueſt Happineſs. Having alternated in theſe three various regions, through the progreſs of his argument to the cataſtrophe of it, he, in the tenth book, intimates and prepares us for the great change, elementary as well as moral, introduced into the world by the Fall of Man,—and the conſequent entrance of Sin and Death. The eleventh and twelfth books gradually bring us into the World, in the ſtate in which we are actually placed in it; and in this ſtate the poet leaves us with admonitions of the moſt ſalutary kind for our conduct in it, ſo as beſt to regain that happineſs which our firſt parents had loſt, and that further ſecured to us everlaſtingly and unchangeably in a bleſſed eternity. When we thus conſider the *four different Regions*, in which the ſcene of the Poem is in fact laid, we can well account for what the criticks have ſaid reſpecting the eleventh and twelfth books falling ſhort of the majeſty, ſublimity, and beauty of the reſt. In cenſuring the Poem in this reſpect, *they in fact wiſh that whatever relates to this world, and the ſtate of mankind in it ſince the Fall, had been omitted, and that the ſcene and deſcriptions had been confined to the delights of the 'happy ſeat,' the ſublime horrours of the 'dark ſojourn,' and the divine glories of the empyreal regions and the 'heaven of heavens.'* But Milton, even while 'rapt above the pole' he meditated his vaſt deſign, was fully aware that he was 'ſtanding upon the earth,' and writing to the inhabitants of it for their inſtruction as well as their delight. A poem, however wonderfully pregnant with the *delectare*, will be wanting in its moſt eſſential part, if it does not cloſe with the *monere*, or materially involve it. This, I much incline to believe, could not have been done in the preſent poem, in a more judicious, momentous, dignified, and truly poetical manner, than that of our author."—

Nor can I think that the peruſal of *Paradiſe Loſt* is "a duty

rather than a pleaſure;" that "we read Milton for inſtruction, retire * haraſſed and overburdened, and look elſewhere for recreation." To theſe cold remarks I could oppoſe the teſtimony of numbers, who have thought it no diſparagement to their taſte and judgement to confeſs that they have peruſed it *many times*, and always with *increaſed* delight. Yes: if we liſten obediently to the poet's ſong, perhaps we ſhall acknowledge ſenſations ſimilar to thoſe with which our firſt parent is deſcribed to have been ſo powerfully affected:

"The Angel ended, and *in Adam's ear*
"*So charming left his voice, that he a while*
"*Thought him ſtill ſpeaking, ſtill ſtood fix'd to hear,*
"*Then, as new wak'd, thus gratefully replied.*
"*What thanks ſufficient, &c.*" TODD.

* This literary disgust is also noticed in the second volume of this edition, p. 278.

APPENDIX TO PARADISE LOST,

CONTAINING

PLANS OF SIMILAR SUBJECTS,

Intended for

TRAGEDIES,

BY MILTON:

From his own MS, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

IN the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is a thin folio manuſcript, marked, in the year 1799, when I was obligingly permitted by the Maſter and Fellows of that ſociety to examine it, *Miſcell.* R. iii. 4. It is handſomely bound; and to the inſide of one of the covers is paſted a paper with this inſcription, "Membra hæc eruditiſſimi et pænè divini Poetæ olim miſerè disjecta et paſſim ſparſa, poſtea verò fortuitò inventa, et in unum denuo collecta à CAROLO MASON ejuſdem Collegii Socio, et inter Miſcellanea repoſita, deinceps eâ quâ decuit religione ſervari voluit [a] THOMAS CLARKE, nuperrimmè hujuſce Collegii, nunc verò Medii Templi Londini, Socius, 1736." Theſe papers were found by Dr. Maſon, above-mentioned, who was alſo Woodwardian profeſſor at Cambridge, among other old and neglected manuſcripts belonging to Sir Henry Newton Puckering[b], a con-

[a] Afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Knight.

[b] Mr. Warton says that Sir Henry "had so great an affection for this college, in which he had been educated, that in his eightieth year he desired to be readmitted: and, residing there a whole summer, presented to the new library, just then finished, his own collection of books, amounting to near four thousand volumes. He was son of Sir Adam Newton, tutor to Prince Henry; and many papers written by that prince, or relating to him, are involved in the collection. Sir Henry took the name of Puckering in remembrance of his uncle, Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwickshire, a learned and accomplished man, brother-in-law to Sir Adam Newton, son of lord Keeper

ſiderable benefactor to the Library. They contain two draughts of a letter to a friend, who had importuned Milton to take orders; the following plans of *Paradiſe Loſt* in the form of a tragedy, or myſtery; the plans or ſubjects of ſeveral other intended tragedies, all in the poet's own hand; and entire copies of many of his ſmaller poems, in the ſame hand, except in a few inſtances, exhibiting his firſt thoughts and ſubſequent corrections.

Theſe variations, Mr. Warton has obſerved, have been imperfectly and incorrectly printed by Dr. Birch. Various Readings of this MS. have been alſo admitted into Dr. Newton's edition of all Milton's poetical works; as have ſuch, which relate to the reſpective pieces, and which have been more minutely inveſtigated, in Mr. Warton's two editions of Milton's ſmaller poems. Upon a careful examination of this manuſcript, I have diſcovered a few peculiarities, or variations of expreſſion, which have eſcaped the notice of thoſe who have preceded me in deſcribing this literary curioſity; and which will be found in their proper places. For I have added, at the end of each particular poem, as of *Lycidas*, *Arcades*, and *Comus;* and at the end of each ſeries of poems, as of *Sonnets*, *Odes*, and *Miſcellanies;* the ſeveral Various Readings reſpectively belonging to them. In this arrangement I hope to gratify the reader; who, after reading the finiſhed poem, may then trace without interruption, (to uſe the language of Dr. Johnſon reſpecting the imperfect rudiments of *Paradiſe Loſt*,) the gradual growth and expanſion of great works in their ſeminal ſtate; and obſerve how they are ſometimes ſuddenly advanced by accidental hints, and ſometimes ſlowly improved by

Puckering, a companion of the studies of Prince Henry. Many of the books were presents to the prince from authors or editors. In Dr. Duport's *Horæ subsecivæ*, a poem is addressed to this preserver of Milton's Manuscripts, *Ad D. Henricum* Puckeringum, *alias* Newtonum, *Equitem baronettum*. Cantabr. 1676. 8vo. pp. 222, 223. This sir Henry had a son, pupil to Dr. Duport, at Trinity college, but who died before his father."

I find a copy of verses addressed to Sir Henry, which escaped Mr. Warton's notice, in Thos. Jordan's *Muses Melodie in a consort of Poetrie*, where his poetical taste is thus quaintly praised:

" Excellent Sir, I know you use to sip
" Much of the Muses fair good fellowship.
" Leander and lov'd Hero's life and death,
" With all the Verse since queen Elizabeth,
" Lifts not the front of fansie up so high
" As you can when your genius will comply."

ſteady meditation. For this reaſon alſo I have placed the dramatick plans of *Paradiſe Loſt* at the concluſion of the poet's ſublimer "heroick ſong;" and have ſubjoined, to the tragedy of *Samſon Agoniſtes*, the plans of Milton's other intended dramas.

Of the tragedy or myſtery there are two plans:

THE PERSONS.	THE PERSONS.
Michael.	Moſes.
Heavenly Love.	Divine Juſtice, Mercie, Wiſdom, Heavenly Love.
Chorus of Angels.	Michael.
Lucifer.	Heſperus, the evening-ſtarre.
Adam, Eve, with the Serpent.	Lucifer.
Conſcience.	Adam.
Death.	Eve.
Labour, Sickneſſe, Diſcontent, Ignorance, with others; Mutes.	Conſcience.
Faith.	Labour, Sickneſſe, Diſcontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death; Mutes.
Hope.	Faith.
Charity.	Hope.
	Charity.

Paradiſe Loſt

THE PERSONS.

Moſes προλογίζει, recounting how he aſſumed his true bodie; that it corrupts not, becauſe of his [abode] with God in the mount; declares the like of Enoch; and Eliah; beſides the puritie of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, præſerve it from corruption; whence exhorts to the ſight of God; tells they cannot ſee Adam in the ſtate of innocence by reaſon of thire ſin.

Juſtice, Mercie, Wiſdome, debating what ſhould become of Man, if he fall.

Act II.

Heavenly Love.
Evening-Starre.
Chorus ſing the marriage ſong, and deſcribe Paradice.

Act III.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruine.
Chorus feares for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act IV.

Adam, Eve, } fallen.
Conſcience cites them to God's examination.
Chorus bewailes, and tells the good, Adam hath loſt.

Act V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradice: præſented by an Angel with

Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envie, Warre, Famine, Peſtilence, Sickneſſe, Diſcontent, Ignorance, Fear; } Mutes, to whom he gives thire names; likewiſe Winter, Heat, Tempeſt, &c.

Death, entered into the world.

Faith, Hope, Charity, } comfort him, and inſtruct him.

Chorus briefly concludes.

The next ſketch, as Dr. Johnſon has remarked, ſeems to have attained more maturity; and is entitled

Adam unparadiz'd.

The Angel Gabriel, either deſcending or entering; ſhewing, ſince the globe was created, his frequency as much on Earth as in Heaven; deſcribes Paradiſe. Next, the Chorus, ſhewing the reaſon of his coming to keep his watch after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God; and withal expreſſing his deſire to ſee and know more concerning this excellent and new creature, Man. The Angel Gabriel, as by his name ſignifying a prince of power, tracing Paradiſe with a more free office, paſſes by the ſtation of the Chorus; and, deſired by them, relates what he knew of Man; as the creation of Eve, with thire love and marriage. [c]

After this, Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himſelf, ſeeks revenge upon Man. The Chorus prepare reſiſtance at his firſt approach. At laſt, after diſcourſe of enmity on either ſide, he departs; whereat the Chorus ſing of the battell and victorie in Heaven againſt him and his accomplices: as before, after the firſt Act, was ſung a hymn of the Creation [d].

Heer again may appear Lucifer, relating and inſulting in what he had don to the deſtruction of Man. Man next, and Eve, having by this time bin ſeduc't by the Serpent, appears confuſedly cover'd with leaves. Conſcience, in a ſhape, accuſes him. Juſtice cites him to the place, whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while, the Chorus entertains the ſtage, and is informed, by ſome Angel, [of] the manner of his fall [e]

Heer the Chorus bewails Adam's fall. Adam then and Eve returne, and accuſe one another; but eſpecially Adam layes the blame to his wife; is ſtubborn in his offence. Juſtice appears; reaſons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admoniſhes Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence [f].

The Angel is ſent to baniſh them out of Paradiſe; but, before,

[c] It appears plain, in the next paragraph, that Milton intended to have marked the division of the Acts in this sketch, as well as in the preceding. Peck has divided them; and closes the first Act with Adam and Eve's love, &c. See his *Mem. of Milton*, 1740, p. 40.

[d] End of the second Act. [e] End of the third Act. [f] End of the fourth Act.

cauſes to paſs before his eyes, in ſhapes, a [g] maſk of all the evills of this life and world. He is humbl'd, relents, diſpaires. At laſt appeares Mercy, comforts him, promiſes the Meſſiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; inſtructs him. He repents; gives God the glory, ſubmitts to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes[h].

Compare this with the former draught [i].

[g] See my note on *Par. L.* B. xi. 489.

[h] End of the fifth Act.

[i] The reader may compare the allegorical characters, and their offices, in this and the preceding draught, with those in the Italian drama by Andreini; of which an ample account has been given in *The Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost.*

Phillips, the nephew of Milton, has told us, that *Paradise Lost* was first designed for a tragedy, and that in the fourth book of the Poem "there are ten verses, which, several years before the Poem was begun, were ſhewn to me, and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the ſaid tragedy." *Life* &c. 1694, p. xxxv. These verses are the opening of Satan's celebrated address to the Sun. "O thou, that with ſurpaſſing glory crown'd, &c." Where see my note.

N° II.

LAUDER'S INTERPOLATIONS.

The following interpolations were publickly confeſſed by Lauder, in a printed "Letter to the Rev^d Mr. Douglas, &c. 1751," pp. 4—12; except the eighth, and the lines noticed, with the twenty-firſt, in the *Pſalterium*, &c. Theſe, however, are marked as ſuch in Mr. Bowle's copy of Lauder's *Eſſay* with the manuſcript remarks of the acute detector.

i.

THE word "*Pandæmonium*" interpolated in Maſenius.

ii.

"Angeli hoc efficiunt, cæleſtia juſſa ſecuti;"

a line interpolated in Maſenius, to correſpond with *Par. Loſt*, B. x, 668.

"Some ſay, he bid his Angels turn aſcanſe, &c."

iii.

"Inſernique canes populantur cuncta creata;"

a line interpolated in Maſenius, to anſwer theſe of Milton, *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 616.

"See, with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance
"To waſte and havock yonder world."

iv.

"Quadrupedi pugnat quadrupes, volucrique volucris;
"Et piſcis cum piſce ferox hoſtilibus armis
"Prælia fæva gerit: jam priſtina pabula ſpernunt,
"Jam tondere piget viridantes gramine campos:
"Alterum et alterius vivunt animalia letho:
"Priſca nec in gentem humanam reverentia durat;
"Sed fugiunt, vel ſi ſteterint fera bella minantur
"Fronte truce, torvóſque oculos jaculantur in illam:"

quoted as from Maſenius, but literally taken from Hog's tranſlation of *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 710, &c.

v.

" Vatibus antiquis numerantur lumine caſſis
" Tireſias, Phineus, Thamyriſque, et magnus Homerus."

" Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides,
" And Tireſias, and Phineus, prophets old."

Par. Loſt. B. iii. 35.

The above paſſage ſtands thus in Maſenius, in one line,

" Tireſias cæcus, Thamyriſque, et Daphnis, Homerus."

vi.

" Perſimilis turri præcelſæ, aut montibus altis
" Antiquæ cedro, nudatæ frondis honore:"

interpolated in Maſenius, to anſwer theſe paſſages in Milton:

" Stood like a tower," *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 591, and 612.
——" as when Heaven's fire
" Hath ſcath'd the foreſt oaks, or mountain pines."

vii.

——" Orcus et pedibus tremit!"

interpolated in Grotius, to anſwer Milton's

——" Hell trembled as he ſtrode."

Par. Loſt. B. ii. 676.

viii.

" Narra petenti, quomodo, quoque ordine,
" Tam magna humeris machina impleta eſt ſuis:"

interpolated in Grotius, to correſpond with Adam's requeſt to the Angel, *Par. Loſt*, B. vii. 84.

" Deign to deſcend now lower, and relate
" What may no leſs, &c."

ix.

——" Nam, me judice,
" Regnare dignum eſt ambitu, etſi in Tartaro:

" Alto præeſſe Tartaro ſiquidem juvat,
" Cœlis quàm in ipſis ſervi obire munia:"

interpolated in Grotius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 261.

——————" and in my choice
" To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
" Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven."

x.

" Innominata quæque nominibus ſuis,
" Libet vocare propriis vocabulis:"

interpolated in Grotius, to correſpond with *Par. Loſt*, B. xii. 140.

" Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd."

xi.

" Cœli ſolique ſoboles! ætherium genus!"

another interpolation in Grotius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 273.

" Offspring of Heaven and Earth, and all Earth's Lord!"

xii.

" Carbunculorum luce certantes rubra:"

interpolated in Grotius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 500.

———" carbuncle his eyes."

xiii.

" Nata Deo! atque homine fata!
" Regina mundi! eademque interitus inſcia!
" Cunctis colenda!"

another interpolation in Grotius, to correſpond with *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 291, 568, and 612.

" Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!
" Empreſs of this fair world, reſplendent Eve!
" Sovran of creatures, univerſal Dame!"

xiv.

" Rationis etenim omninò paritas exigit,
" Ego bruta quando beſtia evaſi loquens;
" Ex homine qualis ante, te fieri Deam:"

Grotius interpolated, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. ix. 710.

" That ye ſhall be as Gods, ſince I as Man,
" Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
" I, of brute human; ye, of human, Gods."

xv.

" Caſſam, oro, dulci luminis jubare tui
" Ne me relinquas:"

the line *Caſſam*, &c. another interpolation in Grotius, to correſpond with *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 918.

————" bereave me not,
" Whereon I live, thy gentle looks—"

xvi.

Tibi nam relicta, quo petam, aut ævum exigam?"

another interpolation in Grotius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 921

————" forlorn of thee,
" Whither ſhall I betake me, where ſubſiſt?"

xvii.

" Tu namque ſoli numini contrarius,
" Minus es nocivus; aſt ego nocentior
" (Adeoque miſera magis, quippe miſeriæ comes
" Origóque ſcelus eſt, lurida mater mali!)
" Deúmque læſi ſcelere, teque, Vir, ſimul:"

interpolated in Grotius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 927.

————" On me exerciſe not
" Thy hatred for this miſery befallen;
" On me already loſt, me than thyſelf
" More miſerable! Both have ſinn'd; but thou
" Againſt God only; I againſt God and thee."

xviii.

" Quod comedo, poto, giguo, diris ſubjacet:"

another interpolation in Grotius, to correſpond with *Par. Loſt*, B. x. 728.

" All that I eat or drink, or ſhall beget,
" Is propagated curſe."

xix.

" Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam!"

interpolated in Ramſay.

xx.

" Auſpice te, fugiens alieni ſubcuba lecti
" Dira libido hominum totâ de gente repulſa eſt;
" Ac tantum gregibus pecudum ratione carentum
" Imperat, et ſine lege tori furibunda vagatur.
" Auſpice te, quam jura probant, rectúmque piúmque,
" Filius atque pater, fraterque innotuit; et quot
" Vincula vicini ſociarunt ſanguinis, a te
" Nominibus didicere ſuam diſtinguere gentem:"

This is pretended to be a quotation from Staphorſtius, but is literally taken from Hog's tranſlation of *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 753.

" By thee adulterous Luſt, &c."

xxi.

" Aurorâ redeunte novâ, redentibus umbris:"

an interpolation in Staphorſtius. And the following pretended lines of Staphorſtius are literally taken, by Lauder, from Eobanus's *Pſalterium Davidis*, Lipſiæ, 1546.

" Cœleſtes animæ! ſublimia templa tenentes,
" Laudibus adcumulate Deum ſuper omnia magnum.—"
" Omnia in illuſtri lucentia ſidera cœlo —"
" Omnes et montes, et proxima culmina cœlo —"
" Ignis edax rerum, permixti grandine nimbi —"
" Terrarum reges! populique! ac ſceptra tenentes
" [ferentes]!
" Imberbes pueri! juvenes! teneraéque puellæ?"

xxii.

" Te primum, et medium, et ſummum, ſed ſine carentem:"

another interpolation in Staphorſtius, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. v. 165.

" Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt, and without end."

xxiii.

————" Tu, Pſychephone!
" Hypocriſis eſto; hoc ſub Franciſci pallio,
" *Quo tutò tecti ſeſe credunt emori.*"

The laſt line interpolated in Fox, to beget ſome reſemblance to *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 478.

" And they, who to be ſure of Paradiſe,
" Dying, put on the weeds of Dominick,
" Or in Franciſcan think to paſs diſguis'd."

xxiv.

" Mutare *volupe* eſt pondus immenſum levi,
" *Summos dolores maximiſque gaudiis :*"

the laſt line interpolated in Quintianus, to offer ſome reſemblance to *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 892.

————" where though might'ſt hope to change
" Torment with eaſe, and ſooneſt recompenſe
" Dole with delight."

xxv.

" Quaſi exuiſſem omnem malitiam ex pectore :"

an interpolation in Beza.

xxvi.

" In promptu cauſa eſt: ſupereſt invicta voluntas,
" Immortale odium, vindictæ et fæva cupido."

an interpolation in Fletcher, to anſwer *Par. Loſt*, B. i. 105.

————" What though the field be loſt ?
" All is not loſt; the unconquerable will
" And ſtudy of revenge, immortal hate,
" And courage never to ſubmit or yield."

xxvii.

" Scilicet hunc natum dixiſti, cuncta regentem;
" Cœlitibus regem cunctis, dominumque ſupremum ;
" Huic ego ſim ſupplex ?—
" Et cogar æternùm duplici ſervire tyranno ?"

The two firſt lines, and the laſt, interpolated in Taubmannus.

xxviii.

This line in Milton,

" Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,"

is faid to be taken from the title-page of Heywood's Hierarchy of Angels, Throni, Dominationes, Principatus, Virtutes, Poteſtates. But the words in Heywood's title are thus, "*Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni, Poteſtates, Angeli, Archangeli, Principatus, Dominationes.*"

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

C. and R. Baldwin, Printers,
New Bridge Street, London.

1973.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

PR
3551
T6
1809
v.4

Milton, John
Poetical works